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Virilio 1NC

Transportation is a Modern Manifestation of the War Economy—the Affirmative Focus On Movement and Speed is an Obsession With the Contemporary Version of Military Interconnection

Douglas Kellner, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia, "Virilio, War, and Technology: Some Critical Reflections," Theory Culture and Society, 1999 (<http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/Illumina%20Folder/kell29.htm>)

Virilio argues that the role of speed had been previously overlooked in the organization of civilizations and politics and that speed is crucial to the production of wealth and power.

Resolutely rejecting the forms of economic determinism associated with Marxism, Virilio's dromology focuses on those instruments that accelerate and intensify speed and that augment the wealth and power of those groups who control them. In his vision, the military comes to control speed and thus to become a dominant societal power. This situation produces an accelerating decline of the state and politics and primacy of the military, which, for Virilio, becomes a key force in politics and society whose importance he believes is usually underestimated.

From the beginning, Virilio was concerned to theorize the interconnection between speed, technology, and war. On Virilio's view, the importance of warfare in understanding human history had been grossly underestimated. Initially an urbanist and specialist in architecture, Virilio came to the view that war was at the center of civilization, that the city, for instance, was formed as a garrison for warfare, that need for defense and the preparation for war was at the origins of the foundation of cities.^[1] For Virilio, war involved the organization of space, through preparing and undertaking the conquering of territory, and thus in terms of logistics, offensive tactics, strategy, and defense, there was a unique spatial organization for war. Defense required slowing down the enemies' military assault and cities provided walls, ramparts, fortresses, and enclosed areas that could repel invasion, that could protect individuals gathered within its spaces.

For Virilio, logistics, the preparation for war, is the beginning of the modern industrial economy, fuelling development of a system of specialized and mechanized mass production. War and logistics require increased speed and efficiency, and technology provides instruments that create more lethal and effective instruments of war. The acceleration of speed and technology, in turn, create more dynamic industry, and an industrial system that obliterates distances in time and space through the development of technologies of transportation, communication, and information. The fate of the industrial system is thus bound up with the military system which provides, in Virilio's vision, its origins and impetus.

Thus, on Virilio's optic, cities, cathedrals, the economy, politics, and other key aspects of the modern world are products of military mobilization and deployment, thus war serves as the motor of history, culminating in what Virilio calls "pure war." In Virilio's view, the system of deterrence in the Cold War nuclear stalemate created a situation in which technological development channels technology into military forms and technocratic political domination. In this situation, "Weapons and armor constantly need to be strengthened. Technological development thus lead to economic depletion. The war-machine tends toward societal non-development" (Virilio and Lotringer 1983): 5). With more and more resources going to the military and military imperatives dominating production, government, and the evolution of science and technology, societal development is undermined and social underdevelopment becomes a defining mark of the contemporary world.

Virilio 1NC

Endorsement of the War Machine Creates a Pure War, Wherein Militarism and Violence are Ubiquitous and Encourages a Perpetual Nuclear Holocaust and Extinction

Douglas Kellner, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia, "Virilio, War, and Technology: Some Critical Reflections," Theory Culture and Society, 1999 (<http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/Illumina%20Folder/kell29.htm>)

In addition, for Virilio, the acceleration of events, technological development, and speed in the current era designates "a double movement of implosion and explosion," so that "the new war machine combines a double disappearance: the disappearance of matter in nuclear disintegration and the disappearance of places in vehicular extermination" (Virilio 1986: 134). The increased speed of destruction in military technology is moving toward the speed of light with laser weapons and computer-controlled weapons systems constituting a novelty in warfare in which there are no longer geo-strategic strongpoints since from any given spot we can now reach any other, producing what Virilio calls "a strategy of Brownian movement through geostrategic homogenization of the globe" (Virilio 1986: 135). Thus, "strategic spatial miniaturization is now the order of the day," with microtechnologies transforming production and communication, shrinking the planet, and preparing the way for what Virilio calls "pure war," a situation in which military technologies and an accompanying technocratic system come to control every aspect of life.

In Virilio's view, the war machine is the demiurge of technological development and an ultimate threat to humanity, producing "a state of emergency" in which nuclear holocaust threatens the very survival of the human species. This involves a shift from a "geo-politics" to a "chrono-politics," from a politics of space to a politics of time, in which whoever controls the means of instant information, communication, and destruction is a dominant socio-political force. For Virilio, every technological system contains its specific for of accident and a nuclear accident would, of course, be catastrophic. Hence, in the contemporary nuclear era, in which weapons of mass destruction could create an instant world holocaust, we are thrust into a permanent state of emergency that enables the nuclear state to impose its imperatives on ever more domains of political and social life.

Politics too succumbs to the logic of speed and potential holocaust as increased speed in military violence, instantaneous information and communication, and the flow of events diminishes the time and space of deliberation, discussion, and the building of consensus that is the work of politics. Speed and war thus undermine politics, with technology replacing democratic participation and the complexity and rapidity of historical events rendering human understanding and control ever more problematical. Ubiquitous and instantaneous media communication in turn makes spin-control and media manipulation difficult, but essential, to political governance. Moreover, the need for fast spin control and effective media politics further diminishes the space and role of democratic political participation and interaction.

Virilio 1NC

Alternative—Vote Negative to View the 1AC Impacts as a Museum Display of the Accident—Embracing the Revelation of Technology's Accident, The Failure of Transportation— Without Focusing on Prevention or Perfection Reveals the Necessity of Understanding the Accident as Intrinsic to the Type of Technological Nihilism Which Otherwise Leads to Atrocity

Jason Adams, Graduate Student at Simon Fraser University, "Popular Defense in the Empire of Speed," November 2003 (<http://ir.lib.sfu.ca/bitstream/1892/4277/1/b34840278.pdf>)

One particularly outstanding example of this is seen in Virilio's longstanding project to curate a 'museum of accidents' which would embrace the aesthetics of appearance since it would expose the hidden nature of technological substance; but as he sees it, up until the museum is actually built, television will remain the closest thing to a museum of the accident since it really is the only 'place' where we come into contact with their effects on a regular basis. In other words, since television exists in real time rather than real space it is therefore based upon an aesthetic of disappearance, which means that the accident is still largely hidden to us: for instance if one goes to any of the hundreds of 'museums of science and industry' that dot the American landscape in real space, one finds that while the technology is everywhere apparent, its accident has been censored. It was toward this eventual goal that Virilio put together an exhibition on the accident at the Fondation Cartier in Paris, accompanied by the book *Unknown Quantity*, which consists of large photographs taken from the mainstream press, of the major accidents of the 20th century; in doing so, he effectively reinscribed these fleeting images into real space so that they could be comprehended and contemplated in a way not otherwise possible. The exhibition and book can thus be seen as a form of popular defense, an equivalent for the general public to what the simulation industry is for government and business: a medium with which to 'expose the accident in order not to be exposed to it' - as Virilio explains, "this is the very point, the avowed aim of the Fondation Cartier exhibition. A pilot project for, or exactly a prefiguration of, the future Museum of the Accident... [which is important because] as one witness to the rise of nihilism in Europe put it, 'the most atrocious act becomes easy when the path leading to it has been duly cleared'". 86 In this sense, then, the exhibition *Unknown Quantity* can be understood as a direct challenge to those art forms that have become little more than propaganda for the empire of speed such as 'transgenic art' or 'implantation art' in which the artist advertises the 'liberation' of the body in the age of genetic engineering and biotechnology by torturing and altering not only her own body, but often those of others as well, with or without their consent. Thus, just as astronomers have recently begun to plan ahead for the next collision with 'near earth asteroids' such as that which impacted Tunguska, Siberia in 1908 or Flagstaff, Arizona several millennia ago, Virilio argues that his project is no less serious, since "accidents always reveal something that is indispensable to knowledge. You can't create the positive without creating the negative...that there are negative monuments for me is an extraordinary advance [because] negative means that we remember in order not to do it again".237

Links—Mass Transit

Focus on Mass Transportation is a Way to Eliminate the Function of Space and Time in the Lived World—The Affirmative Produces a Shift in Perception that Destroys the Epistemological Experience of the World as Such

Douglas Kellner, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia, "Virilio, War, and Technology: Some Critical Reflections," Theory Culture and Society, 1999 (<http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/Illumina%20Folder/kell29.htm>)

Henceforth, fragmentary images derived from diverse sources constitute one's "image of the city," rather than the grids of maps or personal experience. Virilio is analyzing a momentous shift in the image and imaging of the world, of what he calls a "morphological irruption," of an "iconological disruption" mutating from perception to quantitative representation and then to digitization. This shift in experience progressively volatilizes the real and obliterates the object of lived experience into technological modes of representation, that constitute a derealization and dematerialization of the object. That is, whereas the object of lived experience was once an object of perception, an object seen and handled by the bodily subject, the objects of cyberspace and virtual reality -- as well as the objects of contemporary scientific theory -- are abstract and immaterial, generating a new form of technological idealism.

For Virilio, theories of light and speed replace time and space, as a new immateriality and "new illuminism" comes to dominate contemporary scientific thinking. Virilio believes that as with the notions of critical mass or temperature, when states of affairs break up and become radically other, space too becomes "critical" (Virilio 1997b: 9ff). The notion of "critical space" refers to the breaking up and dissolution of previous configurations of space under the impact of technology. For Virilio, telecommunication that eradicates all duration and extension of time in the transmission of messages and images, as well as mass transportation and interactive computer technologies that decenter urban or lived space, all constitute threats and dissolutions of previous configurations of experience as space becomes virtual and takes on new modalities. Previous configurations of space and time are replaced by time-light (i.e. the time of the speed of light) and a new "lumiocentrism" (1997b: 5f and 14f), in which the instantaneous flow of information ruptures previous configurations of time and space, requiring new concepts to describe the parameters and processes of the new worlds of technology and technological experience.

For Virilio, developments in science and technology are obliterating both modern and common sense views of the world and producing new objects and spaces that cannot be explained by current conceptual schemes. The "physics of the infinitesimally small" and the cosmological speculations on outer space produce novelties and puzzles that put in question the facts of perception, the realm of experience, and that point to new, unperceived and imperceptible entities, that confound common sense and current scientific schemes (Virilio 1991b: ff). Moreover, new technologies are producing both new objects (i.e. cyberspace, virtual reality, etc.) and new modes of perception and representation (i.e. fractal geometry, computer-generated representations of external and internal realities, etc.) that themselves require new modes of thought and cognition. Such shifts in modes of perception and representation began with cinematic photography that captured motion and phenomena not visible to the naked eye, increased with developments in microscopes and telescopes, and proliferated new modes of perception and representation with computers and new virtual technology.

In short, Virilio is mourning the loss of the object of ocular perception in the emergent forms of technological perception and representation, the displacement of the dimension of direct observation and common sense (1991b 111), and thus the loss of the materiality and concreteness of the objects of perception, the realm of appearance and lived experience. In other words, Virilio mourns the loss of the phenomenological dimension that privileged lived experience. Always a phenomenologist, as he affirms in his interview with John Armitage in this issue, Virilio roots his thought in concrete experience of objects, people, and processes in the observed and experienced worlds of everyday life and the natural and social worlds. The new technological worlds, for him, constitute a break and rupture with ordinary experience and thus shift the locus of truth, meaning, and validity to, for Virilio, an abstract and enigmatic virtual realm.

Links—Mass Transit/Cities

Engaging the Technology of the City Via Mass Transit and Urban Transportation Endorses the Militarism of Cities and Speed

Douglas Kellner, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia, "Virilio, War, and Technology: Some Critical Reflections," Theory Culture and Society, 1999 (<http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/Illumina%20Folder/kell29.htm>)

In *Speed and Politics* (1986 [1977]), Virilio undertakes his first sustained attempt to delineate the importance of accelerated speed, of the impact of technologies of motion, of types of mobility and their effects in the contemporary era. Subtitled "Essay on Dromology," Virilio proposes what he calls a "dromomatics" which interrogates the role of speed in history and its important functions in urban and social life, warfare, the economy, transportation and communication, and other aspects of everyday life. "Dromology" comes from the Latin term, *dromos*, signifying race, and dromology studies how innovations in speed influence social and political life. The "dromocratic revolution" for Virilio involves means of fabricating speed with the steam engine, then the combustion engine, and in our day nuclear energy and instantaneous forms of warfare and communication.

Virilio was initially an urbanist who suggests that the city is a dwelling place organized by channels of communication and transportation, penetrated by roadways, canals, coastlines, railroads, and now airports. Each crossing has its speed limits, its regulations, and its systematic enclosure and spaces with in a system of societal organization. The city itself is a conglomeration of these roads, a stopover for travel, and a system of "habitable circulation" (Virilio 1986: 6). City life unfolds in the spectacle of the street with its progressions and movements, its institutions and events, mobilizing and moving flows of traffic and people. Likewise, politics unfolds in the streets and urban sites of demonstration, debate, revolt, and revolutionary insurrection.

For Virilio, the city and its institutions have military origins. In his view, the medieval cathedral and early modern fortified cities were military camps. In Virilio's words: "Before it became the throne of totality, the Christian sanctuary was a stronghold, a bunker, a fortified church for those who remained within it; all their powers and capacities were deployed and strengthened in, through and as combat" (1986: 38). Likewise, although Virilio himself does not make this point, the early Christian missions in the Americas were military fortifications used by the colonizing powers as defense and control mechanisms.

The vector is a key term for Virilio that indicates the trajectory of various technologies along a fixed length and direction, but from no fixed point. It refers to any trajectory along which goods, money, information, or military apparatuses can flow, including roadways, airwaves, and communication and military circuits. Territory is the space across which speed, technology, politics, economics, and urban and everyday life flow across vectors of transportation, commerce, war, social interaction, communication, and information. From a political and military perspective, territory is the space of human habitation, it is a space to be defended and secured, and to be invaded and colonized. Within modern societies, the nation-state was the territory that defined politics and the city, with its public spaces and institutions, serving as its privileged site. In the contemporary world, however, the city has been displaced by technologies of speed and power. In the military sphere, the city no longer serves as a break against military conquest and as a site of protection of its citizens when instantaneous military violence can assault it from hidden spaces (airplanes, nuclear submarines, and missiles). With politics occurring through media and information circuits, the time of deliberation and consensus is obliterated. Space and time are thus overwhelmed by technologies that travel at ever faster speeds and when new technologies instantaneously circulate images and information across space.

Links—Cities

**Our Focus on the City and Urban Prowess Creates a Conception of Space Which is
Synonymous With Cyberlife, Distracting From the Experience of the World**

Douglas Kellner, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia, "Virilio, War, and Technology: Some Critical Reflections," Theory Culture and Society, 1999 (<http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/Illumina%20Folder/kell29.htm>)

Throughout his works, Virilio describes the loss of key human capacities and powers in the contemporary world under the influence of always accelerating technology. While from the 1970s to the present, Virilio discusses the decline of politics in a technological world in which individuals are losing control over their technology, society, and polity, *„The Lost Dimension_“* (1991b [1984]) deals with the decline of the city, its decentering and displacement in the information and postindustrial society and, crucially, the loss of the object, of the very concreteness of lived experience in a new world of technologically-generated representations and modes of vision.

For Virilio, the city is decentered in relation to the rise of suburbs and then telecommunications and new sites of work and interaction in a postindustrial society. Virilio's "overexposed city" is penetrated by media and advertising, information technology, and what Debord called "Society of the Spectacle," overwhelming urban space and life. In Virilio's vision (1991b: 9ff.), the urban wall and gateways have given way to a plethora of openings to media channels, information and communication networks, and diverse new technologies. Each technology is a window to the outside world, obliterating urban boundaries and spaces to the geopolitical channels of the global world and the world of atopic cyberspace. Exposed to global culture and communication, the city loses its specificity and city life gives way to technological cyberlife, an aleatory, heterogeneous and fractured space, and a world-time that enables individuals to experience events simultaneously from every time zone in the world.

Links—Imaging/Satellites/Computers/Tech**The Transformation of Vision Implied by Imaging Technology is a Tool of Information Control That Intends to Support the Elimination of Time and Space Characteristic of the War Machine**

Douglas Kellner, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia, "Virilio, War, and Technology: Some Critical Reflections," Theory Culture and Society, 1999 (<http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/Illumina%20Folder/kell29.htm>)

Cyberspace, Virilio claims, supplies another space without the usual coordinates of space and time that also produces a disorienting and disembodied form of experience in which communication and interaction takes place instantaneously in a new global time, overcoming boundaries of time and space. It is a disembodied space with no fixed coordinates in which one loses anchorage in one's body, nature, and social community. It is thus for Virilio a dematerialized and abstract realm in which cybernauts can become lost in space and divorced from their bodies and social world.

In addition, Virilio analyzes and denounces what he calls "a pernicious industrialization of vision" (1997b: 89) and what he fears is a displacement of vision by machines. Virilio is afraid that increasingly visions machines are seeing for us, ranging from cameras to video to satellite surveillance to nanotechnology which probes the body (and next the mind?). For Virilio, we are increasingly subjected to bombardment by images and information and thus by "a discreet pollution of our vision of the world through the sundry tools of communication" (1997b: 96). Moreover, he fears, media like cinema and television train and constrain vision, leading to degradation of vision and experience: "If, according to Kafka, cinema means pulling a uniform over your eyes, television means pulling on a straitjacket, stepping up an eye training regime that leads to eye disease, just as the acoustic intensity of the walkman ends in irreversible lesions in the inner ear" (1997b: 97).

Shrilly technophobic and consistently hysterical, Virilio demonizes modern information and communication technologies, suggesting that they are do irreparable damage to the human being. Sometimes over-the-top rhetorical, as in the passage just cited, Virilio's 1990's comments on new information technology suggest that he is deploying the same model and methods to analyze the new technologies that he used for war technology. He speaks regularly of an "information bomb" that is set to explode (1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1997a, and 1997b), evoking the specter of "a choking of the senses, a loss of control of reason of sorts" in a flood of information and attendant disinformation.

Links—Transportation**Transportation's Obsession With Increasing Rapidity and Reducing Transit Time is The Process of Militarist Expansion**

Architectonic Tokyo, PhD In Cultural Anthropology at Yale, "Paul Virilio," 2001

(http://www.architectonictokyo.com/architokyo/Paul_Virilio.html)

One might suspect there to be some 'golden meter' stick housed in the International Bureau of Weights and Measures (IBWM) in Sèvres, France. One might further presume that such an exemplar would serve as the 'measure' for all meters forever after. There is no such thing in France, or elsewhere. The 'true meter' does not exist in material form at all. Rather, it is defined purely by speed. That is, according to the bureau of weights and measures, 1 meter = the distance traveled by light in an absolute vacuum in 1/2999,792,458 of a second.

I think Virilio would like this quite a lot. He more or less says the same thing when he writes, "We live in a world no longer based on geographic expanse but on a temporal distance constantly being decreased by our transportation, transmission and teleaction capacities" (Virilio in Armitage 2001:84). Virilio has two main points. One is that speed is everywhere; the other, that war is in the same place as speed, i.e. everywhere. These two components of his philosophy intersect in communications, where on the one hand, telephones and computers are coming ever closer to shrinking physical distance to zero (that is, you can share a moment with your loved one simply by pressing a few buttons within your grasp), and on the other, war ceases to be waged with sluggish bullets and bombs, but is fought instead with electronic bits of information flying all around the world and piercing directly through the eye into the brains of millions of civil-warriors.

The 'meter', understood as speed-distance, must be recognized as fundamentally different than the Newtonian meter of geographic expanse. How different? Why different? Basically, because the age of thinking proximity in terms of space is, according to Virilio, over and done with. To think otherwise is atavism, plain and simple. When I am closer to my host mother in Japan (because I can call her on the cell-phone) than my mother in Iowa, who doesn't have one, something is screwy. Or to point to another example, these days, it no longer matters how far, in geographical terms, your home is from work—nobody even knows this kind of geographical information—all that matters is how fast you can get there by subway, bus, or bike. Virilio wants to take, what he calls 'speed-distance' seriously. He wants to show that it is just as much the case in architecture as in war, that our structures no longer require the movements of people, but rather involve movements of speeds.

Links—Air Travel

The Airport's Domains of Security/Insecurity, as Well as the Obsession With Speed and Transition Make it the Modern Gateway of the City—Establishment—The Sterility of the Modern Airport is an Attempt to Eliminate the Experience of Distance and Travel Whatsoever

Paul Virilio, "The Overexposed City," in *Rethinking Architecture*, 1997 (<http://www.scribd.com/doc/36848427/26/PAUL-VIRILIO>)

Virilio is now known above all as a theorist of speed and time. Technical developments in the field of telecommunications and transportation have led to an erosion of the physical, to the point where 'the loss of material space leads to the government of nothing but time'. This has an obvious consequence for a discipline such as architecture which has exerted its influence through materiality. In 'The Overexposed City' Virilio explores a number of themes that arise from this condition. Symbolically— but also practically—the city is no longer governed by physical boundaries but by systems of electronic surveillance. Thus the city gate gives way to the security gateway at the airport. Within the home too the traditional physical window gives way to the interface of the screen. Everywhere architecture is going through a crisis as the hegemony of physical presence is being eroded, and notions such as 'near' and 'far' have lost their traditional authority—'speed distance obliterates the notion of physical dimension'. Virilio could be criticized for the utopianism of his futuristic vision, and for failing to take sufficient account of the corporeality of the body in his thinking. Likewise it could be argued that the homogenization of global communications, far from promoting a simple placelessness, may have a counter-effect of a renewed celebration of the specificity of material place. Yet there is an undeniable prescience in Virilio's vision. With the advent of the Internet, Virilio's observation that the screen has become the city square, 'the cross roads of all mass media', reveals the far-sightedness of much of Virilio's thought. In the age of cyberspace, Virilio has emerged as a leading theorist.

THE OVEREXPOSED CITY

At the beginning of the 1960s, with black ghettos rioting, the mayor of Philadelphia announced: 'From here on in, the frontiers of the State pass to the interior of the cities.' While this sentence translated the political reality for all Americans who were being discriminated against, it also pointed to an even larger dimension, given the construction of the Berlin Wall, on 13 August 1961, in the heart of the ancient capital of the Reich. Since then, this assertion has been confirmed time and again: Belfast, Londonderry where not so long ago certain streets bore a yellow band separating the Catholic side from the Protestant, so that neither would move too far, leaving a chain-link no man's land to divide their communities even more clearly. And then there's Beirut with its East and West sections, its tortured internal boundaries, its tunnels and its mined boulevards.

Basically, the American mayor's statement revealed a general phenomenon that was just beginning to hit the capital cities as well as the provincial towns and hamlets, the phenomenon of obligatory introversion in which the City sustained the first effects of a multinational economy modelled along the lines of industrial enterprises, a real urban redeployment which soon contributed to the gutting of certain worker cities such as Liverpool and Sheffield in England, Detroit and Saint Louis in the United States, Dortmund in West Germany, and all of this at the very moment in which other areas were being built up, around tremendous international airports, a METROPLEX, a metropolitan complex such as Dallas/Fort Worth. Since the 1970s and the beginnings of the world economic crisis, the construction of these airports was further subjected to the imperatives of the defence against air pirates. Construction no longer derived simply from traditional technical constraint. The plan had become a function of the risks of 'terrorist contamination' and the disposition of sites conceived of as sterile zones for departures and non-sterile zones for arrivals. Suddenly, all forms of loading and unloading—regardless of passenger, baggage or freight status—and all manner of airport transit had to be submitted to a system of interior/exterior traffic control. The architecture that resulted from this had little to do with the architect's personality. It emerged instead from perceived public security requirements. As the last gateway to the State, the airport came to resemble the fort, port or railway station of earlier days. As airports were turned into theatres of necessary regulation of exchange and communication, they also became breeding and testing grounds for high-pressured experiments in control and aerial surveillance performed for and by a new 'air and border patrol', whose anti-terrorist exploits began to make headlines with the intervention of the German G9 border guards in the Mogadishu hijacking, several thousand miles away from Germany.

Links—Terrorism

The Notion of Terrorism is Simply Tolerated Within the Economy of Speed—Your Impact is Irrelevant and Arbitrary in the Framework of Global Interconnection

VERENA ANDERMATT CONLEY, LITERATURE PROGRAM AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY, "Virilio's Electronic Dérive," Cultural Politics, Fall 2005 (<http://culturalpolitics.dukejournals.org/content/1/3/365.full>)

The new global cities have acquired even some glamor with the construction of financial centers. Today, they are less composed of a juxtaposition of old and new spaces with people shuttling back and forth between them the way Marc Augé would have it (1991), than they are urban centers with an entirely different dynamic and other "lifestyles." Virilio does well to insist on the transformation of the ostensive political city and on the fact that cultural theories must take the large new urban centers as their point of departure. He is somewhat quick to prophesy the demise of cities and humans under the impact of acceleration and technologies. In order to convince his readers, he asks them to enter into his own sci-fi world of sorts. Rather than reducing all humans to valid invalids or grabataires, it would be more productive to show how the relations humans hold among themselves and with the world have been altered.

In part for reason of the speed of his reflections Virilio does not pause to observe that in spite of substantial increases in population, many cities continue to function. In fact, their infrastructures are maintained often with the help of computers. In spite of government propaganda, inhabitants learn to live with threats of terrorism without succumbing to panic. The contemporary city may, at times, look more like a shopping mall or a tourist attraction. Citizens are adjusting quickly to other ways of living based on consumerism and technologies. Notions of success are now equated with possibilities of acquiring commodities that range from computers and mobile cellphones to fashion items. The problem is more with the production of new, unprecedented riches and poverty, a state of things that, for the time being, appears to be as endemic to life as terrorism.

Urban sociologists Saskia Sassen and Allen J. Scott have analyzed the transformations of global cities or city regions and the creation of new social inequities ([Sassen 1991](#); [Scott 2001](#)). Virilio's point about the entire world as banlieue insalubre or unsanitary zone, although provocative, seems as exaggerated as his emphasis on the abuse of technologies. It is the banlieues of global cities in Europe and other continents that are the world's shame. With Virilio, we can say too that many countries in Africa and elsewhere function like banlieues or zones to the rest of the world. In spite of the omnipresence of images, these places are often cleverly hidden. If they are mentioned, it is usually with recourse to fetishistic, empty terms or clichés that recently include the indiscriminate use of the word "terrorism." Of crucial importance would be to shed critical light on these zones and their inhabitants who live in anomie.

Links—Accidents

The Focus on the Accident as a Process of the Technology Employed Serves the Needs of the Military Establishment and Ultimately Only Encourages More Accidents—We Must Recognize the Human Structures that Facilitate and Create the Possibility of These Accidents

Jason Adams, Graduate Student at Simon Fraser University, "Popular Defense in the Empire of Speed," November 2003 (<http://ir.lib.sfu.ca/bitstream/1892/4277/1/b34840278.pdf>)

The threats posed to the grey ecology, as far reaching as they may be, do not cancel out those of the green ecology, but are instead superimposed on top of them, as Chernobyl is one of the best examples, extending as it did, across the great expanse of the territorial body both spatially - since the nuclear cloud spread all over Europe and even reached other continents - and temporally - since the regions that were contaminated will continue to be affected for several millennia to come. It is to features such as these that Virilio attributes the state of shock and disorientation that the survivors of the meltdown immediately found themselves in, such that many of them could not even bring themselves to speak to one another. Indeed, as survivor and filmmaker Sveilana Aleksievich affirms, "we were immediately confronted with the problem of our maladjustment to the event. Because the first sensation there, in the disaster zone, is that our biological machinery is not adapted to this. We, God's creatures, are not ready for it: our eyes can't see radiation, our noses can't smell it, our hands can't touch it. Our biology isn't prepared for it".¹³¹ This is an effect of the loss of the territorial body in the shift from the spatiality of the local accident to the temporality of the global accident, which suddenly affects all living beings on earth. For Virilio, the public embrace of spirituality and religion demonstrated the extent of the awakening to the stifling nature of scientism that had been official dogma for so long, just as the "the fear experienced even in looking at the gigantic flowers, greatly beyond normal size, that grew there [led people] to realize that we were now living in a different, frightening world that defied explanation...people who had lived in the materialistic world, as though imprisoned in a cage (for materialism is a revolt against the infinite) understood they had been pitched into that infinite".¹³² Aleksievich emphasizes that the futility of the will to blame anything other than the excesses of technoscience itself was recognized by people in general, as seen in her notation that the person who accidentally pushed the button that led to the meltdown, even after he was locked up amongst prisoners who regularly attack rapists and child molesters in their midst, was left alone with none of the expected attempts to harass, beat or kill him. It is precisely this sense of powerlessness before the technics of our time that has led to the decline of incidences of naturally occurring accidents in proportion to the 'man-made' accident, since the speed body has been slowly supplanting the territorial body over time; as Virilio explains, "the question raised by the accidental event is not so much that of the iceberg looming up in the North Atlantic on a particular night in 1912, or of the nuclear reactor triggering a chain reaction on a particular day in the year 1986, as of the production of the 'unsinkable' liner or of the siting of an atomic power station near inhabited areas".¹³³ Thus, while an earthquake is technically a naturally occurring accident originating within the body of the earth itself, the collapse of bridges, buildings and elevated highways as a result is a man-made accident, since the large scale organization of animal and social bodies could have been planned differently so that it would exist in harmony rather than opposition to its terrestrial grounding. Indeed, it is because of this blurring between natural and man-made catastrophes that they have both been redeployed as opportunities for the continuing de-struction of the political body; as Virilio argues, "we must therefore get it out of our heads that the military rushes to the aid of civilians...out of pure philanthropy. Ecological catastrophes are only terrifying for civilians. For the military, they are but a simulation of chaos and consequently a subject of study and an opportunity...in the state of undeclared war in which we live, this study is not only useful but indispensable [as state-of-the-art experimentation] ... more than ever before, the experimental sciences are trying to justify an art of warfare which is becoming all the more autonomous as the political State dies out".¹³⁴ IM Thus, rather than working to protect populations by preventing accidents as much as possible, Virilio argues that to the contrary, the empire of speed produces ever more serious accidents as a part of its regular functioning, a sort of fuel source for the perpetual reproduction of the speed-body of transportation and transmission technologies that has been laid like a grid of control over the organic body of the earth, through methods which we explore below.

Links—Efficiency/Politics

Politics is Fundamentally Indistinguishable From the Function of War—The Political Drive for Speed and Efficiency is the Same as the Drive for War Itself

Charles Hables Gray, Professor at UCSC, "Postmodern War at Peak Empire," *Science as Culture*, June 18th, 2007 (Taylor and Francis Online)

The revolution in military affairs is but a name that has been given to a portion of the long running continuum in military technical development. (Helprin, 1998, p. 98)

There has been a great deal of discussion in the last few years about how a 'Revolution in Military Affairs' (RMA) is fundamentally changing war. Sometimes it is electronics that drives this RMA, sometimes information, sometimes biology; the specifics seem to vary. The new types of RMA-generated war vary as well: amorphous virtual war, devastating precision munitions conflicts, and messy street fighting are just a few of the candidates. However, a closer look at recent history suggests that today we have all of these RMAs and all of these wars – that actually there is no single RMA. Rather, since 1945 at least, we have been experiencing a Perpetual Revolution in Military Affairs (PRMA). Why a perpetual Revolution as opposed to a single Revolution or a set of Revolutions? Because it is not one basic change in military policy and practices, nor really a series of discrete changes as marked the history of modern war. Since 1945 (or earlier, good arguments could be made for 1939 or 1914), when the use of two atomic bombs by the US on Japan rendered the basic idea of modern war (total mobilization for total war) absurd, the very nature of war has been in constant flux. The different RMAs that have been postulated are really part of a system of continual basic changes in military technology and doctrine in a futile attempt to overcome the basic contradiction of war today: modern principles in the context of postmodern technologies. This means that Baron Von Clausewitz's modernist slogan 'War is politics by other means' no longer applies. Instead, politics has become an extension of war, as Michel Foucault (1980) claimed, because since 1941 most countries, especially the US, have been in a constant national emergency, mobilization and political militarization.⁴ The First Cold War with the Communists has been replaced by a more amorphous Second Cold War, ostensibly against Terrorism but actually of Terror. But the basic structure of the postmodern war system remains the same: no total war but all other types of war, continual technological innovation, increasing speed and lethality (including the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction), the militarization of technology and science, more intimate human-machine systems (cyborgization), the fetishization of information and ever increasing fear.

Links—Security Discourse

The Affirmative Reliance on the Discourse of Security Enables the Practice of Pure War to Extend Itself

Lucas Walsh and Julien Barbara, Institute for Citizenship & Globalization, Deakin University, Melbourne, "Speed, International Security, and "NewWar" Coverage in Cyberspace," *Journal of Computer-Media Communication*, Spring 2006 (JSTOR)

Security is a foundation concept in international relations. Traditionally understood as security from and between states, through, for example, policies of balance of power and mutually assured destruction, the concept has since the end of the Cold War been progressively expanded to include threats to human security such as environmental, economic, and resource security. An important preoccupation for international relations scholars has been the way in which international challenges have been constructed as "security" threats requiring state action. "Securitization" is a discursive technique whereby policy makers, states, and governments seek to construct a given issue as a security threat to mobilize responsive action (McDonald, 2005). The securitization process aims to change the nature of political reality as a motivating factor in the development of actual policy directions by elites. As McDonald argues, "In creating support for particular security conceptions and practices, actors engage (relatively constantly) in a range of representational strategies that serve to position the group in need of being protected and to contest or marginalize other security discourses and the voices to advance them" (McDonald, 2005, p. 301). By changing the discourse of security, one can change the logic and practice of security policy. Lipschutz (1995) suggests that "[w]inning the right to define security provides not just access to resources but also the authority to articulate new definitions and discourses of security, as well" (p. 8). As a political technique, securitization can be highly effective in generating new political terrain from which securitizers can benefit, providing the basis for radical departures from prevailing norms of international behavior. For example, by casting its response to the September 11 terrorist attacks as a "War on Terror," the Bush Administration was able to open up a global front on a war that can arguably never be won, and thus can be used as a justification for U.S. intervention in perpetuity (i.e., pure war): States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic. Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun. This campaign may not be finished on our watch—yet it must be and it will be waged on our watch. (Bush, 2002)

Casting the terrorist threat as a "war" requiring mass mobilization has provided the Bush Administration with a justification for radical action in international relations and domestic affairs. The "need" to attack terrorists at home and abroad led to the invasion of Iraq without Security Council approval and the trampling of previously unassailable human rights conventions, leading most memorably to the notorious incidents of torture in Abu Grahیب. This is not to deny the significance of global jihad and international terrorism as a security challenge; rather, it is to illustrate how the securitized framing of the issue has cast the Bush administration on a particular policy trajectory centered on combating terrorists rather than engaging societies.

Links—Hegemony/Military Strength

The Function of Postmodern Warfare Ensures that Attempts to Maintain Hegemony and Military Capability Will Create the Conditions for Accidents and Failure—You Cannot Win

Charles Hables Gray, Professor at UCSC, "Postmodern War at Peak Empire," *Science as Culture*, June 18th, 2007 (Taylor and Francis Online)

Even though this system of Postmodern War is now fundamentally at conflict with itself, it is still dynamic. The dominate doctrines call for continual military innovation, bureaucracies are dedicated to it, and the key engine of technological advance, the computer chip, doubles in power every dozen months or so. The 'institutionalization of innovation' has met Moore's Law (the geometric increase in computer chip power) with startling effect, producing major military innovations continually.⁵ As Michael O'Hanlon summarizes it:

The list of military technologies that have emerged since World War II includes helicopters, reconnaissance satellites, infrared-vision devices, laser range finders and target designators, electronically steered radars, high-performance air-to-air and surface-to-air missiles, the modern jet engine and supersonic aircraft, the cruise missile, the global positioning system, stealth materials and designs, the thermonuclear warhead, and the intercontinental missile. (O'Hanlon, 1998, p. 72)

He goes on to describe these innovations as having an 'evolutionary, not revolutionary' impact but this is not logical. Perhaps his conclusion is based on leaving out nuclear submarines, interactive armor, incredibly powerful munitions, extraordinary medical services, drones and remote-controlled aircraft, the militarization of space, and the development of new and more effective biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons of mass destruction. If this isn't a Perpetual Revolution in Military Affairs then nothing could be.

Consider the earlier RMAs. Andrew Krepinevich has given one account of military revolutions throughout history that includes the infantry revolution (14th century), the artillery revolution (15th century), the revolution of sail and shot at sea (14th to 17th century – a slow one), the fortress revolution (16th century), the gunpowder revolution (16th and 17th centuries), the Napoleonic Revolution (18th century), the Land War revolution (19th century), the Naval revolution (19th and 20th centuries) and then a series of revolutions between the World Wars (mechanization, aviation, information) and the Nuclear revolution afterwards (Krepinevich, 1994). At first, revolutions followed one after another, century after century, as infantry supplanted cavalry, artillery took over the battlefield, gunpowder smashed fortresses – continual improvements in effective carnage. But then comes the 20th century and the pace of change accelerates markedly with revolutions running into each other and overlapping until we have today's constant innovation.

The PRMA is a major part of the postmodern war system that since the Second World War has been continually producing deep, if uneven, changes in military doctrines and practices (affairs if you will) without producing complete military superiority on even a temporary basis, let alone permanently. As for perfect security, we know today there will be no such thing no matter what the RMA, for three fundamental reasons: the fog of war, the limits of information technology, and the Postmodern War system.

The fog of war is eternal because war is between humans. It is unpredictable. (Sun Tzu, 1962, and see below) Information technology is imperfect and key elements work by modeling reality, not being reality; it too is unpredictable and far from perfect. And today's Postmodern War system is particularly unstable and is constantly changing because the technologies are changing.

Mikkel Rasmussen, a Danish political scientist, points out that RMAs 'require a transformation of episteme as well as techne' (Rasmussen, 2001, p. 1). In other words, a true RMA changes the way we think about war, not just how it is waged. In the PRMA system, war is constantly changing and these changes are related to a basic 'social paradigm shift', as Rasmussen argues, that is revolutionizing the International System with profound implications for International Security. War is no longer a separate and clear political instrument that can be used to provide a decisive victory between two state antagonists. It is a messy and limited process where often even clear victories, such as the US invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq seemed to be, can lead to more problems and confusion and where many of the antagonists are not states or even proto-nations. Instead of increasing war's utility as a useful political instrument, which is the dream of each new RMA, the continual development of new weapons and systems has become the central driving force of confusing, asymmetrical, and very indecisive Postmodern War. Nowhere is this clear than with that horrifying category: WMD.

Links—Nanotech**Nanotech is an Attempt to Explain and Take Advantage of the Function and Alterability of Space**

B Anderson, M Kearnes and R Doubleday, Department of Geography, University of Durham, "Geographies of nanotechnology," Area, June 2007 (Wiley Interscience)

Posed between dream and reality, and suspended between the future and present, nanotechnology has been heralded as a technology that may define the twenty-first century. Based on claims of either the ability to precisely control and manipulate the material world at the nanoscale, or the ability to modulate living processes at the nanoscale, nanotechnology is said to promise a set of transformative applications that will disrupt established categories such as the artificial/natural or the biological/informational. Nanotechnology is defined by the possibilities for technological exploitation of the nanoscale, and the current institutionalization of nanoscience through coordinated research funding and support mechanisms is dependent upon a broad set of expectations of the potentially transformative implications of this exploitation. For example, a recent UNESCO report expresses something of this ambivalent potentiality as it presents nanotechnology as the next step-change in human progress and development – albeit a step change with uncertain consequences:

Nanotechnology could become the most influential force to take hold of the technology industry since the rise of the Internet. Nanotechnology could increase the speed of memory chips, remove pollution particles in water and air and find cancer cells quicker. Nanotechnology could prove beyond our control, and spell the end of our very existence as human beings.

Nanotechnology could alleviate world hunger, clean the environment, cure cancer, guarantee biblical life spans or concoct super-weapons of untold horror. Nanotechnology could be the new asbestos. (UNESCO 2006, 3; emphases added)

The repetition of the conditional 'could' exemplifies that what we will hereafter term 'nanotechnoscience' – the diverse and interdisciplinary confluence of scientific practices and technological developments organized under the prefix 'nano' – can be described as both ontologically and temporally indeterminate. Informed by overlapping expectations of social, economic and political value, nanotechnoscience also therefore entails the strategic attempt to exploit this indeterminacy. (Mody 2006).

As might be expected, for a field vaunted as providing the tools for the 'next industrial revolution', nanotechnology has also been criticized as a superfluous creation of intellectual fashion that fails to designate a novel field of scientific knowledge or experimental practice. In response, attempts to demonstrate the novelty of nanoscale research have asserted the material distinctiveness of the nanoscale, rather than rely on traditional 'natural' distinctions between different classes of object associated with different fields of scientific enquiry (that would designate physics as a distinct field of enquiry from biology, for example). Typically, nanoscale research is defined by an interest in the unique properties of the space between 1 and 100 nm, in which novel properties are said to emerge. As such, the novelty of nanotechnology is defined by the uniqueness of a particular space. Nanotechnology might therefore be thought of as a geographical project, capitalizing on – and also enacting – such novel properties (Nordmann 2004).

Links—War Discourse

Your Discussion of War Ignores the New Function of Postmodern Warfare—The Contemporary Discourse of War Makes All Conflict and All Life into Pure War that Threatens Total Encompassing Violence

Charles Hables Gray, Professor at UCSC, "Postmodern War at Peak Empire," Science as Culture, June 18th, 2007 (Taylor and Francis Online)

Welcome to postmodernity, where war is no longer an extension of politics; rather, politics is an extension of war. But it is even more complicated than that. War is in the midst of a profound crisis. Only twice before has war changed so fundamentally. Thousands of years ago ancient war developed from ritual war about the time civilization arose. Five hundred years ago the process that led to modern war was articulated in Machiavelli's call for total political wars. Decisive battles became the goal and total war the norm.

With the Second World War, war became global, battle became continuous, and weapons became absolute. Atomic bombs made it clear that modern war's main assumption of the political utility of total war no longer held. Yet, most of the modern war system remains in place: the military-industrial complex, the military mobilization of technoscience (a perpetual revolution in military affairs), and the assumption that war is still the most effective political tool available to policy makers. Hence, post-modern war.

The rise of modern war half a millennium ago coincided with the invention of nationstates, the spread of European colonialism, and the triumph of rationalism, especially as formalized in science and engineering. These developments were all related, so it should come as no surprise that the crisis of postmodern war parallels the decline of the nation-state, the collapse of European colonialism, and a growing critique of reductionistic rationality. TerrorWar, the rise of the corporations, and deepening globalization are the latest manifestations of collapsing modernity.

In the last 50 years there has been another shift in the fundamental nature of war – the very existence of war is seen by many people as not just unnecessary, but as a direct threat to human survival. And for good reason, considering the growing power and continued proliferation of WMD.

While waiting for the apocalypse, new types of war based on new technologies, reprises of modern war, and the spread of non-state violence mark these times. James Der Derian, a leading theoretician of contemporary conflict, points out that 'The disintegration of state structures involves the disintegration of the state's monopoly of violence...' But these wars are not low-tech, even if they are 'small scale . . . dispersed, maybe nonhierarchical.' They still usually use powerful light weapons and excellent communication nets. Even when these aren't available, as in the massacres in Rwanda, machete wielding killers were directed by radio (Der Derian, 2001, pp. 73–74). The same range of appropriate technologies can be used in profoundly asymmetrical wars of small nation-states against empires, as Vietnam and Afghanistan were, and Afghanistan and Iraq are now. As the US and its few allies have found, low-intensity conflict (as the US military officially terms it) remains a very difficult problem to solve. Trying to use technology and force while ignoring politics and culture inevitably leads to defeat for empire.

In low-intensity conflict you want to convince most of the enemy that they are not your enemy; that they are on your side. Casualties and years of fighting are a necessary but not sufficient cost for victory in any serious guerrilla war, such as those in Iraq and Afghanistan. The situation is equally unstable at the other end of the postmodern war spectrum: apocalyptic war. The contradictions between modern war and the technologies that render postmodern war absurd also make it incredibly dangerous, and could well lead to conflict involving nuclear or biological weapons. Even if by some miracle this doesn't happen, many have pointed out war is already colonizing civilian culture. The militarization of culture, which Paul Virilio calls 'pure war' (Virilio and Lotringer, 1983), is driven by the invention of weapons of mass destruction, 'the atomic bomb made necessary the development of the computer bomb, the bomb of totalitarian information' (Virilio, 1999, p. 36).

Meanwhile, a new kind of war, or perhaps even peace, struggles to be born. What does this mean in terms of politics? If apocalypse is our fate then all bets are off. If not, there are real possibilities. To sort them out, and the chances for their realization, we must understand postmodern war and the driving force at its heart: perpetual technological revolution.

Links—Communication Technology

Communication Technology is a Strategy to Eliminate Distance, to Make Transportation More Easily Possible, To Ensure the Instant Connectivity that Transcends Experience

Paul Virilio, Professor of Philosophy at the European Graduate School, "The Information Bomb," 2005 (Google Books)

The more that time intervals are abolished, the more the image of space dilates: 'You would think that an explosion had occurred all over the planet. The least nook and cranny are dragged out of the shade by a stark light,' wrote Ernst Junger of that illumination which lights up the reality of the world.

The coming of the 'live', of 'direct transmission', brought about by turning the limit-speed of waves to effect, transforms the old 'tele-vision' into a planetary grand-scale optics.

With CNN and its various offshoots, domestic television has given way to tele-surveillance. This sudden focusing - a security-orientated phenomenon of the media monitoring of the life of nations - heralds the dawn of a particular form of day, which totally escapes the diurnal-nocturnal alternation that previously structured history.

With this false day, produced by the illumination of telecommunications, an artificial sun rises, an emergency lighting system which ushers in a new time: world time, in which the simultaneity of actions should soon gain precedence over their successive character.

With visual (audiovisual) continuity progressively taking over from the territorial contiguity of nations, which has now declined in importance, the political frontiers were themselves to shift from the real space of geopolitics to the 'real time' of the chronopolitics of the transmission of images and sounds. Two complementary aspects of globalization have, then, to be taken into account today: on the one hand, the extreme reduction of distances which ensues from the temporal compression of transport and transmissions; on the other, the current general spread of tele-surveillance. A new vision of a world that is constantly 'tele-present' twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, thanks to the artifice of this 'transhorizon optics' which puts what was previously out of sight on display.

'The destiny of every image is enlargement,' declared Gaston Bachelard. It is science, techno-science, which has taken responsibility for this fate of images. In the past, it did so with the telescope and the microscope. In the future, it will do so with a domestic tele-surveillance that will exceed the strictly military dimensions of this phenomenon.

The exhaustion of the political importance of extension, which is a product of the unremarked pollution by acceleration of the life-size nature of the terrestrial globe, demands the invention of a substitute grand-scale optics.

This is an active (wave) optics, replacing in a thoroughgoing way the passive (geometric) optics of the era of Galileo's spy-glass. And doing so as though the loss of the horizon-line of geographical perspective imperatively necessitated the establishment of a substitute horizon: the 'artificial horizon' of a screen or a monitor, capable of permanently displaying the new preponderance of the media perspective over the immediate perspective of space. With the relief of the 'tele-present' event then taking precedence over the three dimensions of the volume of objects or places here present ...

This helps us better to understand the sudden multiplication of those 'great lights' that are meteorological or military observation satellites. The repeated sending into orbit of communications satellites, the spread of metropolitan video-surveillance or, alternatively, the recent development of live-cams on the Internet. All this contributing, as we have seen, to the inversion of the usual conceptions of inside and outside. Finally, this generalized visualization is the defining aspect of what is generally known today as virtualization. The much-vaunted 'virtual reality' is not so much a navigation through the cyberspace of the networks. It is, first and foremost, the amplification of the optical density of the appearances of the real world.

An amplification which attempts to compensate for the contraction of distances on the Earth, a contraction brought about by the temporal compression of instantaneous telecommunications. In a world in which obligatory tele-presence is submerging the immediate presence of individuals (in work, trade, etc.), television can no longer be what it has been for half a century: a place of entertainment or of the promotion of culture; it must, first and foremost, give birth to the world time of exchanges, to this virtual vision which is supplanting the vision of the real world around us.

Links—GPS**The Inclusion of GPS in General Social Life is Part and Parcel of an Overall Strategy to Introduce Domestic Warfare**

Paul Virillio, Professor at the European Graduate School, "Ctheory Interview With Paul Virilio: The Kosovo War Took Place In Orbital Space", October 18th, 2000 (<http://www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=132>)

Paul Virilio: GPS not only played a large and delocalizing role in the war in Kosovo but is increasingly playing a role in social life. For instance, it was the GPS that directed the planes, the missiles and the bombs to localised targets in Kosovo. But may I remind you that the bombs that were dropped by the B-2 plane on the Chinese embassy — or at least that is what we were told — were GPS bombs. And the B-2 flew in from the US. However, GPS are everywhere. They are in cars. They were even in the half-tracks that, initially at least, were going to make the ground invasion in Kosovo possible. Yet, for all the sophistication of GPS, there still remain numerous problems with their use. The most obvious problem in this context is the problem of landmines. For example, when the French troops went into Kosovo they were told that they were going to enter in half-tracks, over the open fields. But their leaders had forgotten about the landmines. And this was a major problem because, these days, landmines are no longer localised. They are launched via tubes and distributed haphazardly over the territory. As a result, one cannot remove them after the war because one cannot find them! And yet the ability to detect such landmines, especially in a global war of movement, is absolutely crucial. Thus, for the US, GPS are a form of sovereignty! It is hardly surprising, then, that the EU has proposed its own GPS in order to be able to localise and to compete with the American GPS. As I have said before, sovereignty no longer resides in the territory itself, but in the control of the territory. And localisation is an inherent part of that territorial control. As I pointed out in *The Art of the Motor* and elsewhere, from now on we need two watches: a wristwatch to tell us what time it is and a GPS watch to tell us what space it is!

Links—Economics

Economic Thought is a Strategy of Real Time to Ensure that Information and Exchange is Instantly Possible—The World Becomes Nothing More than Figures and Data

Arthur and Marilouise Kroker editors of CTheory, "City of Transformation: Paul Virilio in Obama's America," CTheory, Oct. 30, 2008 (<http://www.ctheory.net/articles.aspx?id=597#bio>)

Are we beyond Speed and Politics? What characterizes contemporary politics is the unstable mixture of speed information and slow movements. Like the slow implosion of the manufacturing economy, the slow rise of evangelical visions of catastrophe, the slow ascent -- the slow ubiquity -- of the speed of technology, the slow descent of culture into the cold state of surveillance under the sign of bio-governance. You can see it everywhere. In the world economy, the speed of mortgage backed securities, credit swap debt offerings, and complex derivatives always seeks to move at the speed of light. Iceland is the world's first country actually liquidated by hyperreality with debts amassed at light-speeds now constituting 10 times its national wealth. Like Michel Serres' the perfect parasite, the Wall Street financial elite has worked a perfect number on the host of the world economies -- implanting unknown levels of toxic debt everywhere in the circulatory system of finance capital, from China and Japan to the European community. Waking up to the danger of hot debt moving at light-speed when it is definitely too late, Japanese bankers suddenly declaim that "It is beyond panic." Wall Street types say it is "panic with a capital P." Harvard economists, standing on the sidelines like a chorus of lament, wisely add that we are now between "capitulation and panic" and "debt is good." That in a world of over-extended economies, sudden loss of financial credibility, and a seizing up of credit mechanisms everywhere, the only thing to do, financially speaking, is wait for the capitulation point -- that fatal moment when despair is so deep, pessimism so locked down tight in the investor's heart, that everything just stops for an instant. No investments, no hope, no circulation. And for the always hopeful financial analysts, this is precisely the point to begin anew, to reinvest, to seize financial redemption from despair. Definitely then, not a speed economy, but a politics and economy of complex recursive loops, trapped in cycles of feedback which no one seems to understand, but with very real, very slow consequences: like vanishing jobs, abandoned health care and trashed communities. In *The City of Panic*, Virilio writes about the "tyranny of real time," "this accident in time belonging to an event that is the fruit of a technological progress out of political control." For Virilio, we're now interpellated by a complex, three dimensional space-time involved in the acceleration of technological progress "that reduces the extent, the fullness of the world to nothing."

Links—Environment

Ecological Protection is a Strategy of Technoscience to Extend its Grasp Deeper Into the Natural World and Extend Beyond the Human

Paul Virilio, Professor of Philosophy at the European Graduate School, The original accident, 2007 (Google Books)

But, here, the rampant ideology is not so much about a legitimate duty to protect populations; it is about a 'precautionary principle' taken to the absurd extreme of the myth of comprehensive insurance.³ 'The idea of protection haunts and takes up the whole of life,' claimed one of the great exterminators of the twentieth century. But this paradoxical claim of Adolf Hitler forces us to go back over the origins of the various 'expectation horizons' that have preceded the one of the Great Accident of which ecology today presents as a symptom.

Since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, three types of expectation have, in fact, succeeded and overlapped each other, without a soul seemingly taking umbrage at the constantly escalating extremism they represent.

In the eighteenth century, it was firstly the revolution or, more precisely, revolutions, American and French, that were to lead to the suite of political upheavals we all know about right "up to the implosion of the Soviet Union at the end of the twentieth century, not forgetting the nihilist revolution of Nazism.

Buoyed by technoscientific progress, those political revolutions ushered in a whole host of industrial and energy revolutions, revolutions in transport and telecommunications, which we don't need to list here.

As Lenin explained, and he should know: 'Revolution is communism plus electricity.'

Parallel to this very first 'expectation horizon', the nineteenth century was to have a hand in generating the second, that of war, a Great War, whose geopolitical absurdity was flagged by the first worldwide conflict of 1914, following on from the Napoleonic epic. The other great conflict, the Second World War, was a total war, in which what was attacked at one and the same time was the human race as such, at Auschwitz, and its environment, at Hiroshima. This is to say nothing of the quarantine years of the balance of terror between East and West, that Third World War that remained undeclared under the pretext of 'nuclear deterrence' between the two antagonistic blocs. But the militarization of science and the arms race involving weapons of mass destruction that it gave rise to were soon to reveal just how atrocious this undeclared war was. There is no need to spell out the strict correlation between these horizons of expectation, 'war' and 'revolution' mutually reinforcing each other in the name of a technical and political Progress that remains uncontested, except by a handful of heretical thinkers.

Links—Revolution**The Drive for Revolutionary Change is an Attempt to Reform the Dynamics of Time that Separate the Human From Lived Experience**

Paul Virilio, Professor of Philosophy at the European Graduate School, *The original accident*, 2007 (Google Books)

By way of conclusion, let's go back now to this 'feeling of insecurity' that has come over the masses today and that already largely conditions the political life of Western nations.

Despite threat of an unemployment that is structural and definitive for certain categories of people hard hit by the boom in automation of postindustrial production, the anguish now clearly palpable does not seem to be linked to such exclusion from employment, nor to the 'incivility' plague or domestic violence either, but, more profoundly still, to anguish over the failure, also definitive, of the Progress in knowledge that until this moment so strongly marked the age of industrialization.

In fact, the very first expectation of 'revolution' went hand in glove with the expectation of a progress at once philosophical and scientific that was itself to be swept aside by the hurricane of war; of a total war of which the militarization of national economies, over the course of the twentieth century, already flagged the devastating magnitude. The only thing it allowed to survive in people's consciousness was this feeling of fear - and often of hate - that today marks societies of abundance.

On this score, over to Karl Kraus once more: 'Ever since humanity bowed to the economy, all it has left is the freedom of hostility.'⁷

In 1914, the date of this premonitory phrase, it was still only a matter of a deadly rough draft of a new 'war economy' that was to bring down the nations of Europe alone. But in these early days of the twenty-first century, which is our century, it is a matter of the conclusion of this political economy of disaster.

From now on, as every one of us senses, fears and dreads, the world is closed, foreclosed, and ecology has suddenly become the third dimension of politics, if not its very profile.

After the city-state and the nation-state, the outsize federation of the European Community and other groups like it is merely the pathetic mask of a geopolitical bankruptcy that goes by the assumed name of globalization - an integral accident in a political

Impacts—Extinction

Contemporary Warfare is a Strategy of Guaranteed Extinction—The All-Encompassing Total War Will Result in Extermination

Paul Virilio, Professor of Philosophy at the European Graduate School, The original accident, 2007 (Google Books)

Today, at the very dawn of the twenty-first century, when much-vaunted globalization is nothing if not the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge - in other words, of the so-called 'information revolution' - the exterminator takes over from the predator, just as terrorism takes over from the original capitalism.

Since extermination is the illogical outcome of accumulation, the suicidal state is no longer exclusively psychological, associated with the mentality of a few disturbed individuals, but sociological and political. This has reached the point where the widespread accident, announced by Nietzsche, now incorporates this dimension of panic, whereby the philosophy of the Enlightenment bows down before the philosophy of magnitude. This is, in fact, the accident in knowledge that now rounds off the accident in substances deriving from technoscientific research.

In fact, if matter has three dimensions, mass, energy and information, then, after the long series of accidents in materials and energy over the past century, the time of the logical- and even biological - accident is upon us, with the teratological research of genetic engineering.

'The machine has declared war on God,' wrote Karl Kraus, 50 you might remember, as the butchery of the First World War began. But what's the state of play today, with this globalization touted by the promoters of Progress? A fruit of the telecommunications revolution, the globalization of knowledge has not only reduced the field of human activity to nothing thanks to the synchronization of interactivity. It also triggers a historic mutation in the very notion of accident.

The local accident, precisely located here or there, has been abruptly replaced by the possibility of a global accident that will involve not only 'substances' - the substance of the world in the age of the real time of exchanges - but also the knowledge we have of reality, that vision of the world that our various branches of knowledge were, once, founded on.

And so, after the accident in substance, we are ushering in with the coming century an accident without parallel, an accident in the real, in space, in time as in substantial matter, which the cynics had no idea about but which the physicists of relativity introduced bit by bit, in the course of total war.

'Time is just an illusion,' declared Albert Einstein, during the period that divided the First World War from the Second. An accident in historical knowledge, in other words, in the perception of things, a veritable loss of the sense of reality - the front of a reality now spiralling off in accelerated flight, just like the galaxies in the expanding universe. Werner Heisenberg already foresaw the devastation such a loss would cause, fifty years ago, when he wrote: 'No one knows what will be real for people at the end of the wars now beginning.'

Impacts—Violence

The Attempt to Stabilize Technology, To Remove the Dangerous Underside of Transportation Can Only Create Violence

Jillian Smith, Assistant Professor in the English department at the University of North Florida, "Tolerating the Intolerable, Enduring the Unendurable: Representing the Accident in Driver's Education Films," *Postmodern Culture*, September 2008 (Project Muse)

By and large, accident prevention is a conservative discourse (literally, self preserving) dominated by reactive force. To the unforeseen terrorist attack that led to the collapse of the World Trade Center, for example, America responded with a self-securing statement of intolerance that further required a series of reactive responses to support it, including the invasion of Iraq in 2003. We can turn to Friedrich Nietzsche, and more directly to Gilles Deleuze's influential interpretation of Nietzsche, for insight into the movement of such reactivity. In his interpretation, Deleuze focuses on Nietzsche's understanding of active and reactive force as the two qualities of productive force. One general distinction between the two (which are always in relation) lies in "whether one affirms one's own difference or denies that which differs" ([Deleuze, Nietzsche 68](#)). Becoming active is a matter of taking a force to the limit of what it can do and affirming that becoming, hence affirming difference. Reactive force is negating and nihilistic because it turns force against what it can do. In light of these basic definitions, accident-prevention is reactive and even at times nihilistic, for it aims precisely to turn force against what it can do. Nietzsche's method of tracing specific active and reactive forces through their historic formations and deformations is genealogical, a historical practice that attends to the differential relations of forces in order not to discover the causal origins of things but to trace their transformations in value. For the purposes at hand, I do not pursue Nietzsche's conception of value further, but instead note, following D.N. Rodowick, the contrast between genealogical thought and classic conceptions of event and historical understanding. Whether by emphasizing causal origin or a priori form, this classical way of thought belongs to "what Deleuze called the Platonic order of representation," an order that structures understanding of identity, thought, representation, and time as grounded in the possibility of exact repetition or endurance of the same ([Rodowick, Reading 189](#)). For such repetition there is assumed an original form that is being repeated; thus Nietzsche notes that the conventional philosophy of history takes as its topic something outside of history, as it is "an attempt to capture the exact essence of things, their purest possibilities, and their carefully protected identities, because this search assumes the existence of immobile forms that precede the external world of accident and succession" (qtd. [Rodowick 189](#)). The external world is a world of difference, and hence of accident and chance, that which does not necessarily return back to conserve the self through its repetition, a repetition that always suggests the original outside the world of difference.

Impacts—Dehumanization/Totalitarianism**Technological Discourses of Speed and Production Colonize the Body for Militarism and Remove What is Properly Human Experience—The Result is the Oppression and Elimination of Humanity and Complete Totalitarianism**

Douglas Kellner, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia, "Virilio, War, and Technology: Some Critical Reflections," Theory Culture and Society, 1999 (<http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/Illumina%20Folder/kell29.htm>)

Yet Virilio is probably correct that the dominant discourse is largely positive and uncritical and that we should be aware of negative aspects and costs of the new technologies and debate their construction, structure, uses, and effects. Virilio is also right that they constitute at least a threat to community and social relations, as previously established, though one could argue that the new communities and social relations generated by use of the new technologies have positive dimensions as well as potentially negative ones.

Virilio notes as well the ways that new technologies are penetrating the human body and psyche, taking over previous biological, perceptual, and creative functions of human beings, making humans appendages of a technological apparatus. He writes: "I am a materialist of the body which means that the body is the basis of all my work" (Virilio 1997a: 47). In his early work, Virilio spoke of the body as "a vector of speed" and "metabolic vehicle" in which increased speed and velocity overwhelmed the human sensorium and empowered controllers of technologies of speed over other humans (1986). In more recent work, he has described the body as a planet, as a unique center around which objects gravitate, and criticizes increasing derealization of the body in cyberspace and virtual technologies (1997a and 1997b). Virilio is thus in part a materialist humanist and phenomenologist who is disturbed by the invasion of the human body by technology and the substitution of the technological for the human and lived experience. We noted above Virilio's disagreement with Baudrillard over the issue of simulation which Virilio prefers to interpret in terms of substitution of one mode of experience or representation for another. Virilio's project is to describe the losses, the disappearances, of the substitution, describing now technology displaces human faculties and experience, subjecting individuals to ever more powerful modes of technological domination and control.

Thus, Virilio describes the effects of new technologies in terms of an explosion of information as lethal as nuclear explosion and warns of the ubiquity of new types of accident that will require new modes of deterrence and dissuasion. He also envisages progressive derealization and dematerialization of human beings in the realm of virtual reality which may come to rule every realm of life from war to sex. From this perspective, technology emerges as the major problem and threat of the contemporary era, as a demonic force that threatens to erase the human. Much as his predecessors, Heidegger and Ellul, Virilio warns of the totalitarian threat in technology and calls for a critical discourse on technology, recognition of its possible negative effects, and regulation of technological development, subjecting technology to human and political control.

Impacts—Security**The Attempt to Avoid the Accident, To Create a Stable and Safe Version of Transportation Endorses a Notion of Self-Security that Enables Conservative Discourses of Violence**

Jillian Smith, Assistant Professor in the English department at the University of North Florida, "Tolerating the Intolerable, Enduring the Unendurable: Representing the Accident in Driver's Education Films," *Postmodern Culture*, September 2008 (Project Muse)

Driver's education demonstrates that active forces emerge even amidst a density of conservative, reactive forces. Over and over, in this education, self-security is enacted in rhythms of repetition-of-the-same in an attempt to craft a state of endurance, in an attempt to remain constant in a world of accident. The priority of self-security in accident prevention here produces a securing of the self, a continual and blindly confident reactive enclosure of the subject, of representation, and of time. Into this confluence of conservative forces crashes the documentary highway safety film head-on, without regard to the painstaking construction it renders frail. Quite by chance, on this one active current, the accident is opened to perception in all its painful potential. It is not so opened, however, by way of what the films represent, nor by establishing a critical distance from them, but by their offering of a non-representational image of perception itself, in this case of perception as the sensational endurance of the unendurable, of the time of accident itself. This wildly active effect of the films, this taking cinematic force to the limits of what it can do without reactively coiling it back to the security of the familiar, contrasts starkly with the effect of the conservative discourses within which the films are pedagogically configured. Driver's education shows repeatedly the conservative force of security that, oddly, prevents, not the accident, but the ability to endure its possibility.

Impacts—Agency**This Focus on Technique Distracts From the Actuality of Political Thought—Obsession With Technology Rather than Political Agency Transforms All Living Beings into Simply Hostages**

Jason Adams, Graduate Student at Simon Fraser University, "Popular Defense in the Empire of Speed," November 2003 (<http://ir.lib.sfu.ca/bitstream/1892/4277/1/b34840278.pdf>)

Just as we have seen with his critique of the epistemology of science, so too does Virilio reject the ideology of objectivity in regard to technology, pointing out that far from being the product of equal input from all sectors of society, much less without value altogether, it too is always developed for someone and for some purpose, namely that of the military, the media, the state and other centers of power. It is through the convergence of these critiques that he develops his theory of technocracy as the totalitarian replacement of participatory politics in our time, which he says has come about because the instrumentalism that was born with what we call 'technology' has exceeded the machinic bounds of the term to encompass ever greater sectors of society, with the result that today it necessarily includes any standardized complex of procedures that transform nature, animals or humans into a means to an end, such that reflective and deliberatory decision-making are replaced, as seen for example in the way in which both the machinic technology of the nuclear bomb and the economic technology of neoliberalism involve the transformation of billions of living beings into either hostages or consumers rather than political actors in their own right.⁹ Thus, politics and technology can no longer be separated in a time when the latter forms the very framework within which the former takes place, to such an extent in fact, that deliberation is often subsumed by technique altogether; as John Street has argued, this occurs because "technology encompasses not just nuclear power stations and computers. It extends, for example, to hedgerows, trees and walls. The row of trees outside the American Embassy in London was not planted out of commitment to natural beauty, but to break up student demonstrations, just as the Paris streets were designed to frustrate revolutionary mobs".¹⁰ In this example we get a glimpse of why Virilio describes what are generally thought of as liberal 'democracies' as technocracies instead, since almost all of the most important decisions in regard to overall design are made not by the people directly affected by them, much less by their elected representatives in government, but rather by technicians who not only exclude the public from the decision of whether or not a particular form of technology should be introduced, but even design them from the start so as to preclude the very possibility from ever occurring at all.

Impacts—Total War**Technology Enables Military Production and Destruction—Total War is Perpetually Possible**

Charles Hables Gray, Professor at UCSC, "Postmodern War at Peak Empire," Science as Culture, June 18th, 2007 (Taylor and Francis Online)

Wars are almost always asymmetrical; that is why somebody wins and somebody else loses. But when Colin Gray (2002, p. 5) claims that therefore 'asymmetry essentially is a hollow concept' he is being willfully obtuse. What makes asymmetry such an important idea now is that many different types and approaches to war exist in the Postmodern War system. The old solution of the militarily dominant combatant, total war even to the point of genocide, is no longer an option (not that is hasn't been tried even recently).

So, more than ever, war is political, not technological. This is why the greatest military power in world history, and the second greatest, both lost wars to relatively tiny opponents (Vietnam, Afghanistan). The conflicts were so radically asymmetrical the great military advantages (based on such revolutionary weapons and ideas as helicopters and vertical envelopment and the electronic battlefield) of the US and the Soviets weren't enough to overcome the fundamentally political rules that valued the political choices (actions) made by individuals, groups, and nation-states more than military actions. Suicides by prisoners, as with Bobby Sands and the other IRA politicals and with Guantanamo detainees is asymmetrical war in one sense, but it is better seen as an act that takes the conflict to a level beyond war. It moves the struggle, for just treatment in both cases, into the purely political realm nullifying the massive military power of the incarcerators.

When the political situation is favorable, as with the US war against the hated (by the Afghans most of all) Taliban or the degraded and disgraced regime of Saddam Hussein, easy victories are possible for high tech militaries. But the same opponent, in a different situation, can be deadly. Or one's opponents can morph, from anti-Shah students into Islamist mullahs in Iran or from Bathists to Iraqi nationalists. War is never simple and it never stays still – to forget this lesson is to court disaster.

Impacts—State Control

Support for Technological War Apparatus Encourages the Information State to Enhance its Mechanisms of Control

Lucas Walsh and Julien Barbara, Institute for Citizenship & Globalization, Deakin University, Melbourne, “Speed, International Security, and “NewWar” Coverage in Cyberspace,” *Journal of Computer-Media Communication*, Spring 2006 (JSTOR)

Virilio argues that the kind of politics to emerge from a reliance on technology amounts to a cathodic democracy, in which there is a shift of representation to the “virtual theatricalization of the real world” (Virilio, 1995a, p. 33). Virilio warns of “de-realization” involving a generalized breakdown of individual and social relationships to time, space, and movement (Wilson, 1994). Technologies promoting instantaneous transmission, such as satellites, may actually restrict mobility by recasting the scale of human environment and human perception of reality itself. The consequence, Virilio argues, is a “catastrophic sense of incarceration now that humanity is literally deprived of horizon” (Virilio, 1997, p. 41). What emerges is a “montage of temporalities which are the product not only of the powers that be but of the technologies that organize time.”

(Virilio, cited in Wark, 1988). Elsewhere, Virilio writes that “[w]here the polis once inaugurated a political theater, with the agora and the forum, today there remains nothing but the cathode ray screen, with its shadows and specters of a community in the process of disappearing” (Virilio, 1987, p. 23).

Warning of a “loss of orientation in matters political,” Virilio (1999) suggests that this shift has vast implications for the way that we relate to our environments and each other. Recent developments in telecommunications and other technological breakthroughs thus impose simultaneity, immediacy, and ubiquity upon everyone in a way that Virilio likens to an “information bomb, just about to explode” (Oliveira, 1996).

The emergence of a cathodic democracy has implications for the quality of democracy and the relationship between citizens and the state. The speed with which information circulates clouds political relations and desensitizes citizens’ political sensibilities. One interpretation of Virilio’s work would therefore be that this heightened speed and disorientation threatens conventional power bases, including state authority. The erosion of conventional boundaries of time, geopolitics, and the multiplicity of information available to citizens could be seen to challenge not only political subjectivity, but also to undermine the state’s authority and legitimacy. On the other hand, such speed and disorientation potentially obfuscate political reality, providing the state with political cover behind which it can pursue its goals.

Alternative Solvency—Accidents

All Technologies Invoke Their Own Accidents, Their Own Interruptions—Rather than Attempt to Defeat them, We Must Embrace the Accident of Technology to Change the Way we Experience the World

Douglas Kellner, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia, "Virilio, War, and Technology: Some Critical Reflections," Theory Culture and Society, 1999 (<http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/Illumina%20Folder/kell29.htm>)

Virilio claims that every technology involves its accompanying accident: with the invention of the ship, you get the ship wreck; the plane brings on plane crashes; the automobile, car accidents, and so on. For Virilio, the technocratic vision is thus one-sided and flawed in that it postulates a perfect technological system, a seamless cybernetic realm of instrumentality and control in which all processes are determined by and follow technological laws (Baudrillard also, to some extent, reproduces this cybernetic and technological imaginary in his writings; see Kellner 1989b). In the real world, however, accidents are part and parcel of technological systems, they expose its limitations, they subvert idealistic visions of technology. Accidents are consequently, in Virilio's view, an integral part of all modes of transportation, industrial production, war and military organization, and other technological systems. He suggests that in science a Hall of Accidents should be put next to each Hall of Machines: "Every technology, every science should choose its specific accident, and reveal it as a product—not in a moralistic, protectionist way (safety first), but rather as a product to be 'epistemo-technically' questioned. At the end of the nineteenth century, museums exhibited machines: at the end of the twentieth century, I think we must grant the formative dimensions of the accident its rightful place in a new museum" (Virilio and Lotringer 1983). [5] Virilio is fascinated as well by interruptions ranging from sleep to day dreams to maladies like picnolepsy or epilepsy to death itself (1991a and Virilio and Lotringer 1983: 33ff). Interruption is also a properly cinematic vision in which time and space are artificially parcelled and is close to the microscopic and fragmented vision that Lyotard identifies with "the postmodern condition" (Virilio and Lotringer 1983: 35). For Virilio, the cinema shows us that "consciousness is an effect of montage" (Virilio and Lotringer 1983: 35), that perception itself organizes experience into discontinuous fragments, that we are aware of objects and events in a highly discontinuous and fragmented mode. Virilio further argues that new technologies alter our mode of perception and experience, change the way we see and experience the world, and that in particular technologies of speed have produced an increasingly fragmented, discontinuous, and transhistorical mode of experience that grasps instances and partial relations rather than whole fields. In his view, technological time has thus invaded the time and space of the city and other sites of habitation, creating new rhythms, experiences, and modes of interaction that dramatically transform social and everyday life. Virilio describes what he calls "endo-colonization" in which the state colonizes its own urban spaces and then global institutions colonize the entire world. Concretizing this vision, Mike Davis writes: "No wonder that the contemporary American inner city resembles nothing so much as the classical colonial city, with the towers of the white rulers and colons militarily set off from the casbah or indigenous city (1985: 111). But more striking, as we shall see in the following sections, is the eruption of new "vision machines" that create autonomous realms of experience and perception.

Alternative Solvency—Analysis

Analysis of the Partial and Incomplete Nature of the World is Crucial to Better Understand the Function and Motivation of Social Organization—We Can Only Reverse the Current Trends With Self Examination

Charles Hables Gray, Professor at UCSC, "Postmodern War at Peak Empire," Science as Culture, June 18th, 2007 (Taylor and Francis Online)

The knowledge that is really power is knowing what is going on. And since we can never really know what is going on, we'll have to settle for partial understandings and something far short of absolute power in shaping our own futures. But shape them we can. It starts with understanding postmodernity, the world we live in, and how its powers are constituted. Every understanding is a map. Maps are instrumentalist. They tell us which way we might go. So a map of the contemporary world has to be about dangers and opportunities. It should tell us what the crucial problems are and how they fit into the big picture. Some conclusions are starting to seem obvious. Clearly, the problem of Postmodern War is the problem of our current globalization process and the international system that is framing it – a strange stew of empires, nation-states, giant corporations, international alliances and non-governmental organizations, and non-state military actors (aka the terrorists of official discourse). There is also what the Zapatistas call 'International Civil Society', all the communal space (including psychological) outside of the direct control of governments, corporations, and parties and beyond the purely personal and familial. There is an international civil society of nonprofits and NGOs and chess clubs and fan clubs and peace groups and sewing circles.

There will always be a few people of avarice and aggression but society should not be organized to their specifications. The majority of people are – I know it sounds hokey but it is true – good people. Despite this, only occasionally does civil society coalesce into a focused political demand, but when it does, governments fall by the dozens as they have across Eastern Europe, South America, Africa and Asia over the last 20 years.

But overthrowing governments is easier than governing. A majority of the national liberation movements and civil society revolutions of the last 50 years have failed to achieve a healthy political stability where civil society (aka daily life) can thrive. The causes are many, especially colonialism, corporate power, and the interests of empires (the US, Russian and Chinese in particular), but there are no easy answers. But noticing these changes is crucial for thinking about what is happening now, since there are many indications that the world crisis is reaching some sort of climax that is linked to the trajectory of the dominant world empire – The United States of America.⁸

Alternative—Solves Better Than Aff

The Fact of Perception Means Only the Alternative Can Solve—Only In Exploring the Accident as Something Which Exceeds Us as the Level of the Sublime Can We Understand the Function of Technology

Jillian Smith, Assistant Professor in the English department at the University of North Florida, "Tolerating the Intolerable, Enduring the Unendurable: Representing the Accident in Driver's Education Films," *Postmodern Culture*, September 2008 (Project Muse)

Yet Kant recognized that object categories alone could not provide for the synthesis of perception. Simple apprehension, even of fragments, involves some stable measure, independent of the thing apprehended, in the empirical world. Most often this measure is one's own body. In assessing the size, movement, quality of some thing, we create a rhythm between ourselves and the unknown thing, an otherwise unnoticed process that can become apparent while driving when we are met with momentary uncertainties of perception—something flying through the air, the speed and distance of a car ahead, a blotch on the road. Driving can also make apparent Kant's next observation, that the perceptual measure is subject to variation and can change from moment to moment, and from person to person. In short, the stabilizing ground of perception is fluctuation. The corresponding goal of the Drivotrainer is to create reliable object categories and to prevent syncopation. For Kant, in the *Critique of Judgment*, this accident is a part of perception: the acute sensation of a fundamental heterogeneity among and the fluctuating unit of measure of the perceived is the experience of the sublime, when rhythm turns potentially to chaos, when what I perceive cannot be reliably reproduced from one moment to the next, when I perceive that the sheer size of a mountain exceeds my capacity to stabilize it, and I am sent into a vertiginous, frightening, and thrilling state where unities and measures break down and I am subject to intensities of perceptual sensation that I cannot comfortably name or represent in my mind, for their identity continually moves beyond its own resemblance. Although for Kant the sublime is a perception of the incommensurate, within perception is its own potential dislocation. "Between the synthesis and its foundation, there is the constant risk that something will emerge from beneath the ground and break the synthesis" (Smith xx). In other words the Drivotrainer cannot correct perception, no matter how much the process is repeated, because the accident of perception is in perception itself when it moves from the ideal world of object categories to the empirical world of sensible diversity that will always show resistances to form and regularity.

AT: Framework/Cedes the Political

The World of Speed and Dromology Eliminates the Conception of Politics Proper—You Deterritorialize the Possibility of Real Engagement With the World that is the Basis For your Impact Arguments

Douglas Kellner, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia, "Virilio, War, and Technology: Some Critical Reflections," Theory Culture and Society, 1999 (<http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/Illumina%20Folder/kell29.htm>)

Contemporary science and technology for Virilio are thus producing new forms of experience, new modes of perception and representation, and new objects of experience that decenter the human subject, that replace human cognition with technological vision, and displace human labor power in favor of automated technological production. Losing control over its world, the human subject becomes a mere recording device and the human body is reduced to functions in a technological system. Material reality is decentered and a new technological idealism generates concepts increasingly distant from common sense, the body and material world, the conceptual systems of the past, and lived experience.

In addition to the loss of the concrete object of perception, of the realm of appearance and material reality, of the body, Virilio mourns the disappearance of the city, the state, and the end of politics in the new globalized technopolis. Just as computer-aided production and a new virtual form of automation displace human labor power, so too does "flexible accumulation" (David Harvey), the new global division and organization of production, and international financial markets, data bases, and simultaneity of information transmission, communication, and video representation obliterate previous experiences and concepts of time and space, producing a grave new world of transnational global corporations, political organizations, and cities, displacing the national firm, the city, the nation-state, and previous forms and sites of modern politics.

Indeed, for Virilio part of the "lost dimension" is the end of politics in a world of increased speed and virtualities. This is most evident in the realm of military technology in which the complexity of weapon systems create ever shorter response times for humans to react to frightening computer-generated information concerning military threats and in which military technology itself can autonomously generate catastrophes ranging from "friendly fire" incidents to nuclear apocalypse. But the loss of stable referents of the political -- the city, state, nation -- in the deterritorialized and volatilized virtual and global spaces of the new information economy and polity, also render human participation in politics perplexing and perhaps futile.

AT: Criticisms of Heidegger and Other Tech-Bad Authors**Virilio Develops and Refines these Concepts to Make Them Viable—Removes the Fascist Impulse of Heidegger and Ellul**

Douglas Kellner, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia, "Virilio, War, and Technology: Some Critical Reflections," Theory Culture and Society, 1999 (<http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/Illumina%20Folder/kell29.htm>)

This vision of technological domination, of technology displacing human beings, has echoes of the theories of "autonomous technology" (Winner) developed by Heidegger, Ellul, and other totalizing critics of contemporary technology. Virilio does positively cite Heidegger on technology, though he suggests critiques of Heidegger and totalitarianism, specifically his affiliation with German National Socialism (1986: 90, 113f, passim, and Virilio and Lotringer 1983: 23f). Thus, while Virilio is quasi-Heideggerian in his perspective on technology, seeing technology as the enframing demiurge of the modern world, as the matrix in which human practice unfolds, he is clearly anti-totalitarian, and might be seen perhaps as a left-Heideggerian. Further, in the light of his Christian religious beliefs, he has certain affinities with Jacques Ellul's radical critique of technology, that sees technology as an autonomous force that is coming to dominate the contemporary world, effacing human freedom and meaning. When asked if Ellul or Christian existential philosopher Gabriel Marcel influenced his thought, he affirmed the influence of Ellul while denying the impact of Marcel.[2]

Certainly, there are echoes of Ellul's technique, of a totalitarian tendency toward domination and destruction from technological development, running throughout Virilio's work, although he uses more concrete models of war machines, or vision machines, to characterize technology, is less overtly totalizing than Ellul, and is more muted in his religious perspectives. Yet there are similar themes of the demise of human autonomy and creativity in a world in which technique and technological development imposes its imperatives on human beings and both have a predominantly negative and critical take on what they see as the totalitarianism of modern technology. Like Ellul, Virilio denies the technological imperative and affirms the dignity and sovereignty of human beings over things.

AT: Capitalism**Militarism Employed By the Affirmative is a Pre-Requisite to Capitalist Violence—Your Marxist Explanation Ignores the Human Processes of Speed that are Prior to Your Impacts**

Douglas Kellner, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia, "Virilio, War, and Technology: Some Critical Reflections," Theory Culture and Society, 1999 (<http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/Illumina%20Folder/kell29.htm>)

Against all forms of economic determinism and idealist humanism, Virilio posits an autonomous force and power of technology and describes the ways that it constrains economic and social life. Yet in place of Marxian economic determinism, Virilio arguably substitutes a form of military-technological determinism. On his view, the military organization and deployment of people is the origin of proletarianization and predates capitalism; military mobilization is exploited by political, economic, and military forces to augment their power; and the result is the ever-more sophisticated and lethal development of a war machine, a destructive apparatus that is increasingly automated, lethal, fast, effective and removed from human control or values, producing "a state of emergency" in which the very fate of the earth and humanity is at stake.

AT: Baudrillard

Virilio Solves All Your Baudrillard Arguments and Avoids the Artificiality of His Criticisms— Only Our Alternative Has the Possibility of Challenging the Manifestations of Speed in Contemporary Society

Douglas Kellner, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia, "Virilio, War, and Technology: Some Critical Reflections," Theory Culture and Society, 1999 (<http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/Illumina%20Folder/kell29.htm>)

For Virilio, it is technology that accelerates speed, that intensifies war, that creates totalitarian modes of domination and so something like a technological military determinism is present in Virilio's thought. His displacement of the primacy of economics and focus on the key constituent role of technology brings his thought into dialogue with his contemporary Jean Baudrillard. In the 1970s, Baudrillard and Virilio were two of the world's most advanced theorists, both focusing on the new technologies that were creating the novum of the contemporary. Both were concerned to grasp the nature of m and the present age with Virilio theorizing m in terms of technology and speed, and its impact on war, politics, and modes of representation, with new configurations of space and time emerging in pure war. Baudrillard, by contrast, theorized the end of modernity in a postmodern turn moving toward a society of simulation, hyperreality, implosion and other postmodern technological and social novelties.

Baudrillard began in the field of social theory and his early and to some extent middle works provided aspects of a sociology of new media, information, and biogenetic technology, while Virilio centered on technologies of war and representation. By contrast, Virilio eschewed sociology, preferring to focus on war and politics. In his later work, Baudrillard too moved beyond conventional social theory and sociology, moving into a new type of philosophical discourse and cultural metaphysics of the present age.[3] While the post-1980s Baudrillard engaged in abstract theorizing and increasingly obscure metaphysical discourse, Virilio undertook extremely detailed empirical and historical research, albeit presented in an often cryptic and fragmentary style. Both engage in comprehensive historical analysis, though Virilio arguably develops more penetrating historical and political analysis, somewhat in the mode of Foucault who, however, he says he respects more than he likes, claiming that his own work is more fragmentary and disruptive, deploying collage methods of assembling fragments and quickly moving from one topic to another in contrast to Foucault's more classical style (see Virilio and Lotringer 1983: 38f). There is a strong convergence on some themes with Baudrillard and his French contemporaries concerning the radical breaks and ruptures in the contemporary technological world with past modes of social organization, as well as significant differences in theorizing this rupture. For Baudrillard, postmodernity means the end of reality, the end of being able to distinguish between the real and unreal, the end of being anchored in and living in a real material world. On Baudrillard's optic, we dwell increasingly in the realms of hyperreality -- broadcast media, the cyberspace of computer interaction, video and computer games, or a range of mass-mediated worlds -- film, music, multimedia, and VR devices. Moreover, it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish between the real and hyperreality, leading to a dissolution of the real. Thus, as Virilio notes, "The question of m and postm is superseded by that of reality and post-reality" (1994: 84).

Yet Virilio differs from Baudrillard in his theorizing of contemporary technological society. In an interview with John Armitage published in this issue, Virilio says that he disagrees with Baudrillard over the issue of simulation, seeing simulation not as an obliteration of reality, but instead as substitution, in which a technological reality replaces a human one, as photography substitutes itself for real life, or film substitutes the static representation of the real with "moving pictures," or, in our day, when virtual reality substitutes itself for "real life." Consequently, unlike Baudrillard, Virilio believes reality does not disappear, but is rather displaced by another mode of reality, a virtual reality: "Thus, there is no simulation, but substitution. Reality has become symmetrical. The splitting of reality in two parts is a considerable event which goes beyond simulation" (Virilio 1997a: 43). Thus, whereas for Baudrillard reality disappears in hyperreality, for Virilio new technologies provide a substitute reality, a virtual reality which becomes more powerful and seductive than ordinary reality.

Virilio theorizes speed, dynamics, and the simultaneous eruption of a dialectic of implosion and explosion, while Baudrillard theorizes inertia, implosion, and the crisis of the political. Both, however, evoke the end of history and politics in the contemporary moment. More than Virilio, who often articulates political and religious passions, Baudrillard more neutrally describes, accepts, perhaps even affirms, the end of politics, history, in the "catastrophe of modernity." Virilio, by contrast, wants to preserve and expand the social and politics against pure war and the military, opposing a transpolitics which denies the continued relevance of modern politics.[4]

AT: Democracy

Speed Disables the Base Upon Which Democracy is Possible in the First Place—The Alternative is a Prerequisite

VERENA ANDERMATT CONLEY, LITERATURE PROGRAM AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY, "Virilio's Electronic Dérive," Cultural Politics, Fall 2005 (<http://culturalpolitics.dukejournals.org/content/1/3/365.full>)

Democracies have lost their physical base. Speed prevents real democratic action. By means of a war of information, "infowar," humans are manipulated. Virilio points out how the media, through clever editing and montage, even fabrication, construct the events that constitute our lived experience. He understands well the transformative nature of technologies. With the advent of digital images and the live, we have entered a world of substitution. An older form of human reality has been eradicated. Democracy as we once knew it is finished, reduced to an orchestration of emotions by means of instrumental images that, in the age of the light of speed, he repeats time and again, have replaced mental images. For Virilio, transformations, rather than coming from social process, seem to be imposed upon citizens by those in power. The latter manipulate images to harness and subjugate the former. He refuses to hear the argument that, in spite of their inherently expansionist nature, technologies are of neutral valence, meaning that their deployment can be inflected in different ways. Writing at the limit, he does not want to see that technologies bring with them positive and negative sides. Already several decades ago, Michel de Certeau argued that tyranny cannot really exist in the age of e-mail and the Internet (1968). If anything and everything can be fabricated by digital images, nothing can be hidden either, including the very fact of fabrication. The downside of images may be the ease with which a very large number of citizens can potentially be manipulated. Perhaps, too, even their emotions can be orchestrated. Lamenting the dissolution of democracy, Virilio hinges the demise of the world on the abuse of electronic technologies. Skipping over the valuable precepts on democracy that Montesquieu had formulated in *L'Esprit des lois* (to the effect that the democratic process works only in social orders of small size), he does not discuss the tremendous demographic increase in the world and, as a result, the difficulty of governing according to the philosophe's idea that a monarchic order best fits larger nation states. Instead of deploring the end of democracy in the often specious ways we once knew it or even subjecting it to close historical analysis through study of Montesquieu and his American children, the founding fathers of the Constitution of the United States, we could ask nonetheless if democracy is the most fitting, the finest "all-purpose" form of government for the entire world? If so, how does it have to be adapted to today's conditions because of size, the possibility of instant communication, and the presence of rapid transportation that moves people all over the globe? And, if religion is a constitutive force of attraction that holds a social body together, how can democracy, that in its strictest sense must separate belief from social process, figure in areas in the grip of theocratic leadership?

AT: Permutation

Its Not As Simple as Being “Against Accidents”—The Attempt to Repeat Focus on Accident Prevention is the Type of Critical Distance Which Prevents any Adequate Understanding of Accidents

Jillian Smith, Assistant Professor in the English department at the University of North Florida, “Tolerating the Intolerable, Enduring the Unendurable: Representing the Accident in Driver's Education Films,” *Postmodern Culture*, September 2008 (Project Muse)

Consumer appetite for what Virilio calls “real time”—the witnessing of accident or spectacle (seemingly) at the same moment it occurs, an opportunity now offered endlessly through twenty-four hour news media, reality television, and YouTube videos—is a principal culprit in our weakened perception. Virilio answers by reintroducing the lost “interval,” the distance between the event and its representation that produces the more important distance: “critical distance.” Yet while the simplicity of the plan here is enticing, it is tied to the same reactive energy that it produces. The unexamined assumptions of causality and direct correspondence in Virilio's logic prove disturbing, especially when set beside the nostalgic desire for what appears to be an auratic art experience that would reintroduce presence in the representation by way of its physical distance, a presence confirmed primarily by the contemplative state induced in the viewer, in other words by the viewer's own security of presence.¹ Precisely this kind of distancing from the event of the accident in the name of accident-prevention and self-security can be seen in the reactive momentum of accident prevention over and over again. In other words, the intolerance to the accident that necessarily drives accident-prevention quickly becomes an inability to endure the force, production, and productivity of accident itself. Here Virilio gives us an instance of the dangers of reactive thought. In his exhibit the reactive, conservative underpinnings are covered with a rather queer artistic celebration of trauma that, it could be argued, delights in an aestheticization of horror, limiting the encounter with accident through a classically-principled, aestheticizing display of its representations.

Virilio wants exhibition of accident to play a role in prevention of accident but seems more to exert a critical and aesthetic control that blinds itself to the accident even as it claims to open perception to it. J.G. Ballard, best known for rendering the car crash a libidinal event in his novel *Crash*, also displayed three crashed cars in a London gallery, where the audience response, far from having the “critical distance” called for by Virilio, “verged on nervous hysteria” ([Ballard 25](#)). Rather than limiting the encounter with the representations of accident—the cars—Ballard opens it by assembling elements for further disorganization. He hired a “topless girl” to interview guests and provided alcohol for the opening night, which “deteriorated into a drunken brawl” where “she was almost raped in the back seat of the Pontiac” (25). Far from being encouraged to seek acritical distance, viewers are provoked to respond in the moment of their engagement with accident, opening the exhibit itself to include viewer participation, where nudity and alcohol incite a less measured, less inhibited response to interview questions, and where viewers enter into the representations, violating the (critical) distance between the two. Here contact between things and participants speeds up to the point of creating more violence. Something about the deformed cars opens the enclosure of the representation and invites commingling. After the naked “girl” and the alcohol were gone, the exhibit continued for a month to provoke the same violent refusal of distance, for the cars “were continually attacked by visitors to the gallery, who broke windows, tore off wing mirrors, splashed them with white paint” (25). Ballard created an exhibit of the Open as defined in the epigraph to this essay: “its nature is to change constantly, or to give rise to something new, in short, to endure” ([Deleuze, Cinema 19](#)). In this he created an exhibition of accident, where accident is less viewed than it is provided duration, where the disorganizing forces of accident remain active. Ballard constructed an uncontrolled space of representation where expression was undetermined, where shape was unknown, where forces were disorganizing. It is an exhibit of production rather than of prevention, and as such it recognizes uncritical, unreasonable production. “[R]eason rationalizes reality . . . providing a more palatable or convenient explanation, and there are so many subjects today about which we should not be reasonable” ([Ballard 54](#)).

AT: We Solve Accidents

The Idea that We Still Must Establish a Cause for Accidents to Challenge them is Simply a Humanist Recuperation of Technologism—The Best Case Result is Simply to Transpose Blame for the Inevitability of Accidents Onto Those Least Able to Challenge Them, Ultimately Ignoring the Cause and Function of the Accident

Jillian Smith, Assistant Professor in the English department at the University of North Florida, "Tolerating the Intolerable, Enduring the Unendurable: Representing the Accident in Driver's Education Films," *Postmodern Culture*, September 2008 (Project Muse)

If action originates in humans, and if humans are essentially reasonable, and if the trajectory of properly employed reason is toward perfection, then humanist discourse must still account for accident but without veering from its primary assumptions. Enter: classes of humans who are essentially wrong. The essential deviant had already had extensive scrutiny in the arena of industry, which began conducting social studies of accidents that, in fact, determined beforehand what they set out to discover—the "accident-prone" individual. Inescapably, the heat, metal, mobility, and machinery of industrial sites occasion accidents. Faced with the problem of repeated accident, repeated variation in occurrence, science seeks similarity and finds it in the repetition of accidents in connection with the same individual. One influential industrial study, "Incidents of Industrial Accidents upon Individuals with Special Reference to Multiple Accidents" (Greenwood 1919, in Rommel), was conducted by the Medical Research Council, Industrial Fatigue Research Board (emphasis added). A board focused explicitly on fatigue—a condition caused largely by working conditions—finds not a problem with working conditions, but instead a problem with workers, and thereby invents the accident-prone individual by subjecting all that is accidental to the control of the sovereign subject. Securing the doer, not even behind the deed, but behind the occurrence, relieves industry of the financial burden of renovation and of the blame implicit in reform. Production can continue as before, and the social scientist can go to work on the deviant individual.

These industrial studies articulate with auto accident studies and quickly establish that accidents happen repeatedly to certain individuals, and what's more, those individuals are repeatedly found to be from a lower social stratum. The social research of car accidents finds, for instance, that "accident repeaters" were remarkably better known to various "social agencies": thirty percent more had been contacted by the credit union and fourteen percent more had gone to a venereal disease clinic, this last statistic salient next to accident-free individuals, none of whom had attended clinics. Robert Rommel's 1958 thesis, "Personality Characteristics, Attitudes, and Peer Group Relationships of Accident-Free Youths and Accident-Repeating Youths," legitimates its aim and methods with industrial accident studies and reaches conclusions that further converge with the 1950s Cold War trends of normalizing group behavior, producing the necessary social element of the intolerable juvenile delinquent.² One famous convergence of juvenile delinquency and accident-proneness illustrates well, not the descriptive, but the inventive energy of representation. The driver's education dramatization film "Last Date" (1950) sees one invention beget another when the accident-prone merges with the juvenile delinquent to produce the concept teenicide, the art of killing oneself, and often others, before the age of twenty by way of motor vehicle. As inventive as this is, representations, from the melodrama of instructional film to the sterility of a mathematical equation, nonetheless service the assumption of an extant identity or substance that the representation merely describes, and further reinforce the notion of self-same internal identity, the self as representation, a consistent, and therefore identifiable, repetition of the same from moment to moment. Thus, the accident prone individual can even be represented by an equation, as in the one from Greenwood's seminal industrial study of 1919, which has the constancy to remain in use through the 1960s³. Embedded in representation is the assumption of an original, the ideal and unequivocal form to which Nietzsche contemptuously refers, outside of both time and empirical reality. By this logic, the juvenile delinquent already exists before the studies name it. Threat must be meaningful, known quantity, so threat will often become organized and secured through invention (the accident-prone) by way of the valuing (intolerable) process of representation (studies and films).

AT: The Aff Solves the Alternative

The Fact of Perception Means Only the Alternative Can Solve—Only In Exploring the Accident as Something Which Exceeds Us as the Level of the Sublime Can We Understand the Function of Technology

Jillian Smith, Assistant Professor in the English department at the University of North Florida, "Tolerating the Intolerable, Enduring the Unendurable: Representing the Accident in Driver's Education Films," *Postmodern Culture*, September 2008 (Project Muse)

Yet Kant recognized that object categories alone could not provide for the synthesis of perception. Simple apprehension, even of fragments, involves some stable measure, independent of the thing apprehended, in the empirical world. Most often this measure is one's own body. In assessing the size, movement, quality of some thing, we create a rhythm between ourselves and the unknown thing, an otherwise unnoticed process that can become apparent while driving when we are met with momentary uncertainties of perception—something flying through the air, the speed and distance of a car ahead, a blotch on the road. Driving can also make apparent Kant's next observation, that the perceptual measure is subject to variation and can change from moment to moment, and from person to person. In short, the stabilizing ground of perception is fluctuation. The corresponding goal of the Drivotrainer is to create reliable object categories and to prevent syncope. For Kant, in the *Critique of Judgment*, this accident is a part of perception: the acute sensation of a fundamental heterogeneity among and the fluctuating unit of measure of the perceived is the experience of the sublime, when rhythm turns potentially to chaos, when what I perceive cannot be reliably reproduced from one moment to the next, when I perceive that the sheer size of a mountain exceeds my capacity to stabilize it, and I am sent into a vertiginous, frightening, and thrilling state where unities and measures break down and I am subject to intensities of perceptual sensation that I cannot comfortably name or represent in my mind, for their identity continually moves beyond its own resemblance. Although for Kant the sublime is a perception of the incommensurate, within perception is its own potential dislocation. "Between the synthesis and its foundation, there is the constant risk that something will emerge from beneath the ground and break the synthesis" (Smith xx). In other words the Drivotrainer cannot correct perception, no matter how much the process is repeated, because the accident of perception is in perception itself when it moves from the ideal world of object categories to the empirical world of sensible diversity that will always show resistances to form and regularity.

AT: Realism/Empiricism

War Discourse and its Supporting Infrastructure are a Prior Question—They Shape Political Realities and the Way Militarism Develops

Lucas Walsh and Julien Barbara, Institute for Citizenship & Globalization, Deakin University, Melbourne, "Speed, International Security, and "NewWar" Coverage in Cyberspace," *Journal of Computer-Media Communication*, Spring 2006 (JSTOR)

The ways that Western governments represent war to domestic populations and seek to establish the frame of discourse in which war is understood continues to be a central preoccupation of media theorists and commentators. The work of theorist Paul Virilio provides a useful starting point for critiquing the relationship between contemporary technology, politics, and war coverage in cyberspace. His critique highlights how the acceleration and intensification of war coverage in cyberspace produces political effects of disorientation, which, as will be explored below, have been utilized by states to justify new foreign policy directions.

Virilio raises some important questions about the political implications of speed that arise from intensive use of ICTs. Virilio does not present a systematic theory of technology per se (Wark, 1988), but rather a dystopian vision in which cyberspace and instantaneous globalized information flows effect a collapse of territorial distance and compromise state sovereignty (Virilio, 1995a). Arguing that cyberspace is a new form of perspective free of any previous spatial reference, Virilio (1995b) suggests that the sheer speed of information flows arising from mass ICTs impact how people engage with the world around them in profoundly political ways. Virilio evokes the geometric idea of a vector—a line of fixed length and direction but with no fixed position—to convey the notion of a trajectory along which bodies or information, with the potential to traverse a given territory, pass (Wark, 1988). Manuel Castells describes a similar view of the information society, wherein the spaces in which humans interact are increasingly shifting according to the "variable geometry" created by electronic networks, "where the meaning of each locale escapes its history, culture or institutions, to be constantly redefined by an abstract network of information strategies and decisions" (Castells, 1985, pp. 15, 23). By collapsing territorial distance, Virilio argues, ICTs compromise political sovereignty by enabling "a parallel information market" of propaganda and illusion. According to Virilio (1995a, p. 57) "[t]erritorial distance and media proximity make an explosive cocktail" with important political consequences.

Rather than engendering proximity, these information vectors have the potential to transform political relations entirely. In Virilio's terms, ICTs are transforming social and political relations by facilitating vectors with increasing acceleration in which the boundaries between entertainment, information, communication, and human/computer interaction are eroded and reconstituted by technological change. For Virilio, the speed and intensity of instantaneous information and communication flows promotes an overwhelming loss of orientation that influences political formation. "With acceleration there is no more here and there, only the mental confusion of near and far, present and future, real and unreal—a mix of history, stories, and the hallucinatory utopia of communication technologies" (Virilio, 1995a, p. 35). The convergence of news and entertainment media conjures a seamless integration of communication, entertainment, commerce, and politics, through which the viewer is visually bombarded by a disorienting array of choice between news, fiction, "edutainment," and "infotainment"—all of which are delivered instantaneously in the "here and now." As news, "reality television," fictions, and various levels of human and computer-mediated interaction take place through this electronic portal, the social and political impacts of the proliferation of virtual environments and multiple realities intensify.

AT: We Solve War/Decrease Militarism

The Affirmative Attempt to Solve War Is Irrelevant—Placing One's Self in The Creation and Function of Pure War Ensures Destruction and Violent, Even if Defensive

Mark B. Borg Jr., Practicing Psychoanalyst, "Psychoanalytic Pure War: Interactions with the Post-Apocalyptic Unconscious." *Journal for the Psychoanalysis of Culture & Society*, 2003 (Project Muse)

The philosophy (or practice) of "pure warriors," that is, of people who are preoccupied with the pure war condition of their society, is based on the perpetual failure within them of the dissociation and repression that allow others to function in a situation that is otherwise completely overwhelming. Joyce was one of those who lived on the border of life and death; she could not escape awareness of that dread dichotomy that most of us are at great pains to dissociate. She manifested the state of perpetual preparation that is the hallmark of pure war culture and of the insufficiently defended pure warrior, and also a constant awareness of the nearness of death in all its various forms. She understood quite well, for instance, that when people are institutionalized (as she had been on numerous occasions), "society is defining them as socially dead, [and that at that point] the essential task to be carried out is to help inmates to make their transition from social death to physical death" (Miller and Gwynne 74). Against this backdrop, Joyce sought psychoanalysis as a "new world," the place where she would break free from the deathly institutionalized aspects of her self, and begin her life anew. Her search for a "new world" included the possibility of a world that was not a pure war world—a prelapsarian Eden.

Virilio and Lotringer state that "war exists in its preparation" (53). And Sun Tzu, who wrote over 2400 years ago and yet is often considered the originator of modern warfare, said in *The Art of War*, "Preparation everywhere means lack everywhere" (44). This means that when the members of a culture must be on guard on all fronts, the resources of that culture are necessarily scattered and taxed. The more defenses are induced and enacted, the more psychologically impoverished a culture (or a person) will be. In war-torn nations, resources like food, clothing, and materials for shelter may be scarce in the general population because they are shunted off to the military. Similarly, the hoarding of psychological resources and the constant alert status of the defense system are outcomes of existence in a pure war culture. We can see this scattering and scarcity of resources occurring already in the United States as billions of dollars are shunted from social services to war efforts and homeland security.

In pure war cultures—that is, in cultures that enact a perpetual preparation for war—the notion of peace is itself a defensive fantasy, although to survive psychically we distract ourselves from such frightening stimuli as widespread terrorist activities and other events that demonstrate our pure war status. Pure war obliterates the distinction between soldier and citizen. We have all been drafted. According to Virilio and Lotringer, "All of us are already civilian soldiers, without knowing it...War happens everywhere, but we no longer have the means of recognizing it" (42).

Aff—Virilio Doesn't Understand Tech**Virilio's Understanding of Technology is Incomplete at Best—His Overt Negativity Reduces to Just Technophobia**

Douglas Kellner, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia, "Virilio, War, and Technology: Some Critical Reflections," Theory Culture and Society, 1999 (<http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/Illumina%20Folder/kell29.htm>)

Yet Virilio has never really theorized technology per se, and uses the same model and categories to analyze war technology to characterize new information technology. Thus, he has not really unravelled the riddle of technology which would have to interrogate its fascination, power, and complexity, and not just its negativity. Virilio criticizes the discourses of technophilia, that would celebrate technology as salvation, that are totally positive without critical reservations, but he himself is equally one-sided, developing a highly technophobic and negative discourse that fails to articulate any positive aspects or uses for new technologies, claiming that negative and critical discourses like his own are necessary to counter the overly optimistic and positive discourses. In a sense, this is true and justifies Virilio's predominantly technophobic discourse, but raises questions concerning the adequacy of Virilio's perspectives on technology as a whole and the extent to which his work is of use in theorizing the new technologies with their momentous and dramatic transformation of every aspect of our social and everyday life.

Aff—Tech Good

Contemporary Capitalist Examinations are Less Violent and Don't Support the Militarism Virilio Condemns—The Era of Technological Interconnection Is Beyond His Simplistic Analysis of Tech

Douglas Kellner, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia, "Virilio, War, and Technology: Some Critical Reflections," Theory Culture and Society, 1999 (<http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/Illumina%20Folder/kell29.htm>)

Military capitalism helped produce Big Government, Big Corporations, and a Big Military that deployed a tremendous array of manpower, weapons, and resources. Computers were largely developed from military imperatives, producing large, centralized calculating machines and information machines, including the so-called "information superhighway" which had its origins in the defense industry (see Edwards 1996). The military, big government, and giant corporations also controlled scientific and technological research and development, with the military-industrial complex dominating the post-World War Two Cold War economies (see Melman 1965 and 1974).

But while there are still threats to world peace and even human survival from the dark forces of military capitalism, one of the surprising events of the past decade is the emergence of a new form of Microsoft capitalism, of less lethal and more decentralized new technologies, of new modes of peaceful connection and communication. The project of this new form of technocapitalism is the development of an information-entertainment society that we might call the infotainment society and which is sometimes described as the "information superhighway." This form of capitalism is a softer capitalism, a less violent and destructive one, a more ecological mode of social organization, based on more flexible, smaller-scale, and more ludic technologies.[6]

The differences between hard military capitalism and a softer Microsoft capitalism are evident in the transformation of the computer from a top-down, highly centralized, specialized machine controlled by big organizations to the smaller scale, more flexible, and more ludic personal computer (see Turkle 1996 for elaboration of this distinction). Moreover, the surprising development of the Internet opens up new public spheres and the possibility of political intervention by groups and individuals excluded from political dialogue during the era of Big Media, controlled by the state and giant corporations (for elaboration of this argument see Kellner 1995, 1996, and forthcoming).

Of course, Microsoft capitalism has its own dangers ranging from economic worries about near-monopoly control of economic development through software domination to the dangers of individuals getting lost in the proliferating terrains of cyberspace and the attendant decline of individual autonomy and initiative, social relations and interaction, and community. Yet the infotainment society promises more connections, interactions, communication, and new forms of community. The project is in far too early stages to be able to appropriately evaluate so for now we should rest content to avoid the extremes of technophobia which would reject the new technologies out of hand as new forms of alienation or domination contrasted to technophilic celebrations of the information superhighway as the road to a computopia of information, entertainment, affluence, and democracy.

Virilio misses a key component of the drama of technology in the present age and that is the titanic struggle between national and international governments and corporations to control the structure, flows, and content of the new technologies in contrast to the struggle of individuals and social groups to use the new technologies for their own purposes and projects. This optic posits technology as a contested terrain, as a field of struggle between competing social groups and individuals trying to use the new technologies for their own projects. Despite his humanism, there is little agency or politics in Virilio's conceptual universe and he does not delineate the struggles between various social groups for the control of the new technologies and the new politics that they will produce. Simply by damning, demonizing and condemning new technologies, Virilio substitutes moralistic critique for social analysis and political action, reducing his analysis to a lament and jeremiad rather than an ethical and political critique □ la Ellul and his tradition of Catholic critique of contemporary civilization, or critical social theory. Virilio has no theory of justice, no politics to counter, reconstruct, reappropriate, or transform technology, no counterforces that can oppose technology. Thus, the increasing shrillness of his lament, the rising hysteria, and sense of futile impotence.

While Virilio's take on technology is excessively negative and technophobic, his work is still of importance in understanding the great transformation currently underway. Clearly, speed and the instantaneity and simultaneity of information are more important to the new economy and military than ever before, so Virilio's reflections on speed, technology, politics, and culture are extremely relevant. Yet he seems so far to have inadequately conceptualized the enormous changes wrought by an infotainment society and the advent of a new kind of multimedia information-entertainment technology. If my hunch is correct, his view of technology and speed is integrally structured by his intense focus on war and the military, while his entire mode of thought is a form of military-technological determinism which forces him not only to overlook the important role of capital, but also the complex ambiguities, the mixture of positive and negative features, of the new technologies now proliferating and changing every aspect of society and culture in the present era.